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ART. I. *Géographie de Strabon, traduite du Grec en Français.* Tome premier, à Paris, de l'Imprimerie Impériale.  
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IN a former number we had occasion to make some remarks on Strabo's Geography, the true character of which seems to have been but little understood, and to have excited much less general attention than might be expected from a work containing such various and accurate information. We are happy therefore in the opportunity now afforded us of drawing the public attention once more to this subject; and although our notice will be chiefly directed to points of a subsidiary nature, yet whoever reflects on the intimate connection which these matters have with the whole body of the work, that they have exercised the minds of some of the most ingenious and learned scholars of the present age, and that in a right understanding of them are involved the accuracy and consistency of the system in all its parts, will not, we venture to hope, regard the length of our disquisition as disproportionate to their real value.

The translators indeed have themselves given a tolerably correct estimate of the original in the opening of their preface. They observe that 'it contains nearly the whole history of knowledge from the time of Homer to that of Augustus: it treats of the origin of nations, of their change of abode, the foundation of cities, the establishment of empires and republics, and the history of the most distinguished men, and we find there an immense collection of facts which we should elsewhere seek in vain.' From this encomium however some deduction must be made. Much of the ancient history of mankind has been preserved to us by the writings of Herodotus, and has been lately exhibited with new and important lights unborrowed from Strabo, or from any ancient author. Few persons who have examined the subject will dispute the position of Major Rennell, that in the geography of Africa at least, the information of Strabo was much inferior to that of Herodotus—at the same time we must admit his survey of Europe to be almost an entire accession of new matter, while that of

Egypt and Asia far exceeds in accuracy and method the loose records of his predecessor.

It is remarkable that during a space of near 500 years, from the time of Herodotus to that of Strabo, so little should have been added to the science of geography. The conquests of the Romans westward did certainly bring them acquainted with parts of Europe hitherto little known; but in the east, neither the Macedonian nor the Roman expeditions seem to have brought much to light that was before unknown of the state of Asia; while in Africa, as Major Rennell justly observes, geography lost ground. In the course of this period indeed, many writers on the subject appeared; but whatever were their merits, (and the merits even of the most eminent among them, Eratosthenes, seem to be not highly rated by Strabo,) it is certain that they are all lost. We may collect indeed from a curious circumstance little known or regarded, that no complete or systematic work on geography at that time existed: for it appears from two or three of Cicero's letters to Atticus, that he once entertained thoughts of writing a treatise himself on the subject. He was deterred however, he says, whenever he considered it, by the magnitude of the undertaking, and by perceiving how severely even Eratosthenes had been censured by the writers who succeeded him. In fact, he was probably restrained by a consciousness of his own incompetency in point of science, of which he makes a pretty broad confession to his friend: and whoever values the reputation of Cicero, cannot regret that it was never risked on a system of geography to be *got up*, as he himself hints that it was intended to be, during a short summer tour among his country houses in Italy.

It is not however merely to the respective character of the two individuals that we must attribute the inferiority of the geography of Herodotus, in all essential requisites, to that of Strabo. Much undoubtedly is owing to the manners and complexion of the times in which they respectively lived. The former came to the task with few materials supplied to his hands. Every thing was to be collected by his own industry, without the aid of previous history, without political documents, or political authority. The taste moreover and habits of the people for whom he wrote, which must ever have a powerful influence over the composition of any writer, demanded other qualities than rigid authenticity and a judicious selection of facts. It should be remembered that he was hardly yet emerged from the *story-telling* age; the pleasure of wondering had not yet been superseded by the pleasure of knowing; and the nine deities who give name to his books might be allowed to impart some share of their privilege of fiction, wherever sober truth was insufficient to complete or adorn his narrative.

Before



Before the age of Augustus, however, an entire revolution had been effected in the intellectual habits and literary pursuits of men. The world was become in a manner, what it now is, a reading world. Books of every kind were to be had in every place. Accordingly, it became the chief business of writers who projected any extensive work to examine and compare what was already written, to weigh probabilities, to adjust and reconcile apparent differences, and to decide between contending authorities, as well as to collect and methodise a multitude of independent facts, and to mould them into one regular and consistent form.

It was not without a just sense of the magnitude and difficulty of his undertaking that Strabo engaged in this task, as is sufficiently proved by his own elaborate introduction. How many years were employed upon it, is not certain; but we are sure, from the incidental mention made in different passages of historical events widely distant from each other, that it occupied a considerable portion of his life; during the greatest part of which period he was engaged in a personal inspection of many provinces of the Roman empire, travelling often as the friend and companion of persons high in authority.

It is impossible indeed to read any of his larger descriptions without feeling the advantage possessed by an eye-witness over a mere compiler. The strong and expressive outlines which he draws, convey a lively idea not merely of the figure and dimensions, but of the surface and general character of extensive districts. These outlines are carefully filled up by a methodical and often minute survey of the whole region; marking distinctly its coast, its towns, rivers, and mountains; the produce of the soil, the condition and manners of the inhabitants, their origin, language, and traffic: and in the more civilized parts of the world, in the states of Greece especially, we meet with continual information respecting persons and events, the memory of which is sacred to every one at all conversant with the writers of that extraordinary people.

But it is not merely from the number and authenticity of the facts which it communicates that this work derives its value. Every page bears evidence of a philosophical and reflecting mind—a mind disciplined by science, and accustomed to trace the causes and connexion of things as well in the province of physical phenomena, as in the more intricate and varying system of human affairs. In this respect Strabo bears a strong resemblance to Polybius. But with the fondness of that historian for reflection and his steady love of truth, he has not copied the formality of his digressions which so often interrupt the flow of the history, and  
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which would be yet more unsuited to a geographical work. The reasonings and reflections of Strabo are just those which would naturally be excited in a mind previously well informed, by the scenes over which he was travelling; but they never tempt him to lose sight of his main purpose, the collection and arrangement of facts. There is a gravity, a plainness, a sobriety, and good sense in all his remarks which constantly remind us that they are subordinate and incidental, suggested immediately by the occasion; and they are delivered with a tincture of literature, such as a well-educated man cannot fail of imparting to any subject.

On these accounts he would be entitled to the perusal of every scholar, even if the geographical information were less abundant and authentic than it really is. But the miserably corrupt state of the text seems to have discouraged translators as well as readers. Certain it is that translations of Strabo into the modern languages are fewer in number, and of a more recent date, than those of any ancient author, whose information has been so often appealed to as authoritative and curious. The Italian version by Buonacciuoli was indeed published in 1562; but that in German by Pentzel did not appear till 1775, and was not then completed; and a single book, that which relates to Spain, was translated from the *Latin* into Spanish, so late as 1787, by Don Juan Lopez, geographer to his most sacred Majesty, &c. &c. The French translation also promised by Brequigny in his edition of the three first books of Strabo, published in 1763, appears to have been in part, at least, executed, since it is once mentioned in a note by the present translators, but whether it was ever entirely executed does not appear.

The present version was undertaken by the order of Buonaparte, when First Consul of the French Republic. To Messieurs De la Porte Du Theil and Coray, were assigned the translation, with the critical and historical notes; and to M. Gosselin the formation of the maps, and the geographical illustrations. In their preface the translators have stated without reserve, but we must add also, without exaggeration, the difficulties of their attempt: as our attention, however, will now be chiefly given to the preliminary matter, we must defer to a future opportunity, when the entire work shall come before us, our account of the critical merits of this performance, although we shall not scruple here to subjoin a few remarks of a philological kind, which have occurred in the perusal of this volume, the only one which has yet reached us.

To the translation is prefixed a dissertation by M. Gosselin on the itinerary measures of the ancients. As this subject is new, and as Major Rennell's chapter on the Greek stade, has been denominated 'clear and satisfactory,' the reader will possibly indulge us

in a discussion, which will comprize many curious particulars in the history of ancient geography.

Strabo flourished during a considerable part of the reign of Augustus and Tiberius, and died in the twelfth year of the latter. He therefore lived prior to any arrangement of the distances on the globe by measures taken from degrees of longitude and latitude. But this writer, and his predecessors in the same branch of science, were not unacquainted with the practice of measuring the distance from the equator as from a fixed line, by which the comparatively northerly or southerly situations of places might be determined; nor were they ignorant of some methods by which the longitude, or distance of places to the east or west of each other, might be estimated. But it was reserved for Ptolemy, in the second century, to reduce these observations into a regular system, and to a tabular form, by which the situation of any one place, if correctly ascertained, might be compared with that of any other, and also with its distance from the equator, and from the first meridian, drawn through Ferro in the Canary or Fortunate Islands, as being the most westerly point of the earth known at that time.

The ancient geographers had scarcely any other means of determining distances, than actual mensuration: but it was necessary, in order to make the result of this knowledge communicable, to establish some common measure or standard to which other measurements might be referred. The most ancient and received itinerary measure among the Greeks was the stade, which appears to have had a very rude origin. It is said to have been the invention of Hercules, and to be derived from an athletic exertion of his own, as it comprehended the distance which he was able to run without taking breath. This he established as the measure of the length of the *ἀνδρός*, or foot course, at the Olympic games, and from the respect in which these exercises were held, the measure became an itinerary computation. This distance the hero, who instituted it, measured again by the length of his foot, which he found equal to one six-hundredth part of the course. Such is the origin both of the olympic foot, and the olympic stade, the former of which exceeded the common or Roman foot in the same proportion as the foot of Hercules exceeded that of ordinary men, which excess was supposed to be in the proportion of 25 to 24. But the stade was not the only itinerary measure in use among the Greeks, or rather among such as are specified by the Greek writers. Herodotus mentions the *parasanga* and the *schoenus*, and speaks of both as multiples of the stade, and as used conjointly with it. Xenophon computes the march of the auxiliaries from Sardis to Babylon, a journey of 76 days, and of more than 14,000 stades, by parasangs only. Strabo mentions

both the *schoenus* and the *parasanga*, and Athenæus speaks of them as well known itinerary measures in his own time. The remark therefore of M. Gosselin is too general, that 'the Greeks gave the name of stades to all their itinerary measures.'

He is still more incorrect in laying it down as a general principle, that the stade *always* consisted of 600 feet, or 400 cubits. This number is only to be found in the Greek writers, as the Latin almost uniformly assign 625 nominal feet to the same measure, and this difference in the calculation of the same distances is easily reconciled by considering the stade as of a fixed extent, but liable to a different computation, as these feet were of different dimensions. The Roman foot being to the Greek as 24 to 25, it required the addition of a 24th part to complete the length of the stade. M. Gosselin is of opinion that the term was applied to other measures of different dimensions, and that these varied accordingly as the foot was longer or shorter: we do not however think that there was so much variety as he supposes; and we much doubt if any denomination of feet were in use besides the common one, taken from the measure of that of an ordinary man, and the Herculean or Olympic. The latter of these, we think, was, in the early times of Greece, the sole itinerary foot measure. A. Gellius, indeed, says, that there were stadia in Greece of 600 common feet only; but if the passage be considered, it will appear that he refers to the length of places of gymnastic exercise, not to that of the stadium as an itinerary measure.

It is observed by Suidas, that when the length of the mile was reduced from 4,800 to 4,500 feet, or one-sixteenth part, that of the stade continued the same, seven stades and a half only instead of eight being assigned to the mile.

Were the length of the foot as variable as the number of stades in a degree, (and this must be the case on Mr. Gosselin's supposition, which assigns 600 nominal feet to each stade of every kind,) we might admit, that the length of the foot measure was very ill defined; but the foot, like all primary measures, was a natural one; the variations of which would be necessarily confined within a certain limit—a limit which could scarcely extend to the difference of 5 and 11, unless we could suppose that from the time of Anaximander to that of Ptolemy the human stature had been retrenched by one half: the standard of the most ancient stade, which, according to M. Gosselin, was generally used in the eastern country, would reduce the recorded proportion of Goliath to something less than 3 feet 7 inches of our measure.

M. Gosselin affirms, that the length of the foot, which he allows to be an elementary measure, cannot be ascertained within the length of two lines and a half, or somewhat less than a 58th part.

part. This would make a difference of ten feet and a half in the length of the stade, according as the foot measures of the same country were more or less accurately constructed. But we think that our information on this subject, derived from the monuments of antiquity, is not altogether so defective as M. Gosselin conceives. He remarks, that in order to ascertain 'these elementary parts, (the cubit and the foot,) ancient monuments have been measured, such as the pyramids and Nilometers of Egypt, the temples of Greece and Italy, the interval between certain mile-stones and the feet engraven in brass or marble, discovered among ruins or on tombs: but all these having afforded different results, he concludes that it may still be reasonably doubted whether we have yet attained a correct knowledge of the measures of the ancients. Had M. Gosselin taken the trouble to examine what our countryman Greaves, whose accuracy and veracity were never surpassed, has said upon this subject, he might perhaps have found himself relieved from the uncertainty under which he professes to labour. The foot measure engraved on the marble monument of Cossutius, formerly preserved in the Colotian gardens at Rome, was examined by Greaves with the greatest attention, and measured with the most accurate instruments. He found it to contain  $\frac{1233}{1000}$  of the English foot, or, in other words, to bear a proportion to it of 967 to 1000. This proportion Greaves confirms from its coincidence with several very ancient and perfect Roman feet in brass; from its exact relation in measure to the dimensions of the stones which form the pavement of the Panthéon; and from the presumption of accuracy derived from the consideration of the art exercised by the person to whom the monument was erected, who appears, from the instruments engraven upon it, to have been an architect or a sculptor; all which are strong evidences that this representation forms an authentic standard of the length of the Roman foot; and indeed these proofs have been almost universally admitted as satisfactory by succeeding writers. He mentions another representation of a Roman foot divided into digits engraved on the monument of Statilius, whence Philander took the dimensions, which he supposed to be those of the ancient Roman measure. It exceeds that on the monument of Cossutius in the proportion of 1944 to 1934, or rather more than a two hundredth part. This monument, however, has been always regarded as of inferior authority, being deficient in neatness of workmanship and accuracy. To these we might add the plate of the Greek foot in the fourth volume of the *Supplément à Montfaucon's Antiquities*, which perfectly corresponds with the semipes Romanus given in the plate to Greaves's discourse on the Roman foot. Hence it appears that M. Gosselin has over-rated both the discordancy of the ancient measures of length, and the

inaccuracy arising from that source, nearly in the proportion of 7 to 2.

The measure of the Roman foot being once established, that of the Greek foot follows of course, it being, as M. Gosselin admits, in the proportion of 25 to 24 to the former.

Many testimonies from ancient writers might be produced in favour of this proportion; but it has been as nearly as possible brought to the test of the senses. Mr. Stuart examined the temple of Minerva, usually called Hecatompodon, at Athens, with a view to obtain the true length of the Greek foot. The average of his calculations, taken from measurements of different parts of the front of this edifice, gave the proportion of the Greek foot to the English, as 25.04 to 24.819 and to the Roman, as 25.04 to 24. The proportions according to Mr. Greaves are

English foot	1000	=	24.819
Greek foot	1007 . 29	=	25 nearly
Roman foot	967	=	24

This is confirmed by the analogy between the Greek and Roman weights, which were in the same proportion to each other, as their measures of length. The Roman pound was to the Greek as 24 to 25, as Mr. Clark proved by extracts from Cleopatra, Hero, and Rhemnius Fannius, who concur in giving the same proportion, although they express it in different words.

But M. Gosselin not thinking these testimonies sufficient to ascertain the object of his inquiry, has recourse to other methods. He assumes as an obvious position;

‘That the colonial states of Greece, (peuplades,) divided by interests, manners, &c. had, like the ancient inhabitants of Gaul, measures peculiar to themselves; that, as the use of these was limited to their own districts, they always remained unknown to other nations; and that the writers of antiquity never thought of adjusting their geographical systems to these local measures. On the contrary, they selected those which were independent of local usage, as our geographers and navigators have rejected all the leagues in use amongst us, and substituted astronomical leagues of 20 or 25 to a degree, the standard of which, *taken from nature*, might be adapted to all opinions, and furnish a measure common to all nations.’—p. iii, iv.

We cannot assent either to the opinion, or the fact. The Grecian states, collectively taken, comprehended but a small proportion of the habitable world, even of that portion of it, which was known at the time. Their continental territories, or seats of government, were separated from each other, in most instances, by little more than ideal boundaries. They were in habits of constant intercourse. They all spoke the same language, and the authors, who have written professedly on the subject, have not, as far as we are informed,



formed, recorded any difference between the computed measures of the several parts of Greece. Hence it should seem more probable, that the variations observable in these computations arose more from an erroneous estimate of the distance, than from any real difference in the standard of measure. The computed miles differ from one another in many parts of this country, notwithstanding the proper standard of a mile has been long determined.

M. Gosselin expresses his surprize, that any person should refuse to acknowledge the traces of astronomical measures in the distances given by the ancients, particularly as they do not specify any others. Before we analyse the examples which he has adduced, we would hazard a few preliminary remarks on the ancient astronomical calculations, and terrestrial measurements.

The ancient astronomers and geographers could not but be conscious how defective were their instruments for observing the heavenly bodies; and how much greater dependence might be placed on their mechanical measurement of distances, to the accuracy of which we have reason to think they paid great attention, than on their celestial observations, to ascertain the truth of which they had so little artificial assistance. The proportion of the length of the gnomon to that of its meridian shadow at the solstices and the equinoxes, afforded the principal method of determining the distances of places from the equator, and these were, indeed, under a clear sky, a bright sun, and continued opportunities of repeating observations, laid down, in many instances, more nearly to the truth than could be expected from so simple and rude an instrument. Still however they were liable to much uncertainty. The penumbra at the extremity of the shadow made the proportions doubtful. The semidiameter of the sun (although Cleomedes seemed to be aware that this should be taken into the account) does not appear to be added to the altitude, and the circumstances, less important indeed, though not to be neglected, of parallax and refraction, were altogether unknown. Instances of the incorrectness of gnomonic, or sciothenic observations may be given, too gross to be ascribed to any of these defects, and evidently owing to inaccuracy in the observers. Strabo mentions, in no less than four places, that the same proportion of the length of the gnomon to its solstitial shadow was found at Byzantium and at Marseilles, though the former was situated in  $41^{\circ} 11'$ , and the other in  $43^{\circ} 17'$  of lat. \* a difference of no less than  $136'$  on the equator, equal to 158 English miles; and this fact is reported on the authority of

\* In the former the proportion of the gnomon to its shadow would be (according to the sun's declination at that time)  $10 : 3.0955$ ; in the latter  $10 : 3.5340$ , a difference very distinguishable by the naked eye.

Hipparchus and Eratosthenes, in a case too, which was obvious to the senses, and depended neither on hypothesis, nor calculation. It is more extraordinary that this mistake, after being adopted by Ptolemy, should be continued down to ages not very remote from our own.

A still greater error is to be found in Strabo respecting the situation of Carthage. He says, that the proportion of the length of the gnomon to that of the equinoctial shadow is as 11 to 7. This gives by plane trigonometry a latitude of  $32^{\circ} 20'$ , which is very near to the one adopted by Ptolemy. The true latitude of Carthage, according to the best observations, is  $36^{\circ} 5'$ . The error therefore is  $272'$ , or 313 English miles. The ancients were undoubtedly acquainted, although imperfectly, with the measure of the sun's diameter, as appears from Cleomedes, who remarks that the sun would appear vertical at the same instant to an extent of 300 stades in diameter, equal, as he supposes, to half a degree,\* or to two minutes of time, which is nearly the interval that the meridian shadow takes up in passing over the gnomon; and probably this comparison of time with distance led to the means of computing the sun's diameter.

Plutarch, in the life of Marcellus, mentions, among the mathematical instruments belonging to Archimedes, 'sciotheræ, sphaeræ, and gonîæ, by which a person adapts the magnitude of the sun to the sight.'—The observations, taken from the stars, are still more incorrect than those from the sun. A clear and calm atmosphere, and an unclouded sky, gave the ancients indeed advantages in nocturnal observations with the naked eye, which we, in more northerly climates, do not possess; still however the observations so made must be in a great measure conjectural. Some of these errors are so flagrant, that they cannot be excused even by the want of telescopes.

Posidonius, of Rhodes, is said by Geminus, one of the most accurate of the ancient astronomers, to have observed there, the star Canopus, (one of the first magnitude,) and to have found that it had † not, when at its meridian, any perceptible elevation above the horizon, but was barely visible in that situation. The same star observed at Alexandria, shewed a meridian altitude of  $7^{\circ} 30'$ , equal to  $\frac{1}{12}$  part of a great circle of the heavens. But Canopus has a meridian altitude at Rhodes of  $1^{\circ} 2'$ , or more than two diameters of the moon, so that it must have been very inaccurately observed

\* This affords a strong presumption that Cleomedes reckoned 600 stadia to a degree. Geminus observed, that there was no perceptible difference in the meridians for the breadth of 300 stades, although there was a real one.—Petav. Uranol. page 21.

† This mistake has been continued down to later times.—Vid. Petav. Uranol. Not. p. 120.

when it was supposed to be in the horizon. Add to this, that the horizontal refraction would give it an apparent altitude of  $24'$ ,  $33''$  more, so that the star would be to the senses more than two diameters and a half of the moon in altitude. The altitude of the star at Alexandria is also erroneously computed. Instead of  $7^{\circ} 30'$ , it is really only  $6^{\circ} 26'$  in apparent altitude, or one degree four minutes less than represented by Posidonius, so that the whole error, if reckoned according to the apparent difference of altitude, would amount to  $2^{\circ} 30'$ , equal to 150 minutes on the equator, and this exclusive of the one arising from the supposition, that Rhodes and Alexandria lay under the same meridian. It however appears, that the ancients must have had some instruments for taking the altitudes and distances of the heavenly bodies, with the construction of which we are not sufficiently acquainted.

The Pole ( $\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ) is mentioned by Herodotus, as an instrument of which the Greeks derived the use from the Babylonians. It was certainly moveable, for we find it in the ship of Hiero described by Athenæus, and could not therefore be a common dial. Dr. Long is of opinion that it was a ring dial; it was more probably an astrolabe, an instrument of simple construction, and from some advantages arising from its circular figure, capable of greater accuracy than is commonly supposed.

The dioptron is another mathematical instrument, used also for astronomical purposes. Its figure is not explained, but we know from Suidas, that it was used in taking terrestrial altitudes, and it seems from Vitruvius that it was furnished with a line and plummet, and applied in levelling. From its name it was perhaps constructed with two holes for vision, like the sights on the moveable index of the astrolabe, so that it might possibly be the same instrument, with the addition of a plummet on the center pin, to set the perpendicular drawn through it at right angles to the horizon.

What the gonia of Archimedes was is uncertain, but if it were an instrument to take or to measure angles in astronomical observations, which the word seems to import, and the other instruments, spheres and dials, mentioned with it appear to confirm, it might be of the same kind with the one of which we have been speaking.

Another method of discovering the distance of places from the equator was by division into climates, or calculations drawn from the length of the longest days. But the want of instruments for the accurate mensuration of time, together with the ignorance of the ancient geographers of the powers of refraction, which in northern climates makes a material difference, rendered these calculations very doubtful. The upright gnomon, indeed, placed on an horizontal plane, might shew the proportion of the circle which  
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the shadow traversed from sun rise to sun set, and perhaps more correctly than an observation of the horizon itself; but there would still be some uncertainty in tracing the extent of the horizontal shadow. On this account, perhaps, Ptolemy does not attempt to ascertain the length of the day to less than 5' of time, a fraction amounting, in many latitudes, to a degree in point of space. It is worth observing, that the tower of the winds at Athens had dials on each of its eight sides, so that the solar time might be indicated from the sun's rising to his setting. On the inside of this building was a clepsydra, or water clock, the marks of which yet remain. Probably the connection or proximity of these instruments was meant to correct the one by the other, and to form a scale of nocturnal time for celestial observations, as well as for common purposes. The irregularity of the sun's motion in the ecliptic was indeed known, but its effects on the equation of time not calculated; nevertheless a clock which might be so often corrected, would hardly vary much from the standard of solar time, in the space of a few hours.

But the want of an accurate measurement of time was still more perceptible in what regarded the calculation of the longitude. Ptolemy, though well acquainted with the principles of this calculation from the observations of eclipses of the sun and moon, and of the difference of time at the places where these phenomena were observed, failed greatly in the application of his knowledge to practice, having overrated the length of the Mediterranean more than 20 degrees of longitude, equal to 971' on the equator.

Had Ptolemy adopted the numbers of Polybius, as recorded by Pliny, it would have brought him nearer the truth, much nearer, as Dr. Blair observes, than could be supposed, and indeed within a few minutes of space of the true extent. It may be said, that the interval between the pillars of Hercules and the Bay of Issus is a marine distance, and therefore incapable of being measured by those means in which the ancients so much excelled. But the ancients probably measured such distances on a sea so well known, in a manner analogous to terrestrial mensuration. They navigated their vessels only when the seas were calm, they worked with oars which rendered it unnecessary to multiply the distance by going on different tacks, and in fair weather, their progress was nearly uniform; indeed we find in ancient writers, a certain number of stadia or miles attached to a day's sail, just as in eastern countries space is reckoned by hours not by measured distances. From the pillars to the bay of Issus there were not less than five stations, all of them places well known and well suited to naval intercourse.\*

\* A Gaditano fretum—Ad Siciliam—Cretam—Rhodum—Chelidonias—Cyprum—Pieriam vel Seleuciam prope Issum. Plin. lib. VI. c. 33.

The ignorance of the ancients, respecting the polarity of the magnet, must have made their course, when guided by the sun and stars only, even under the most favourable circumstances, incorrect; but the shortness of the separate stages gave frequent opportunity for rectifying the error, and experience made them probably more expert in this mode of calculation, than we, who use it less commonly, may imagine.

After this view of the state of their knowledge, we are less surprised than M. Gosselin that the ancient geographers should so often express distances by measurements, in the correctness of which they excelled, rather than by calculations or observations, the principles of which indeed they understood, but had not the means of reducing to practice.

We now return to M. Gosselin's discussion respecting the lengths of the different stadia used by the Greek Astronomers and Geographers.

The most ancient calculation of the number of stadia in the circumference of the globe, is that recorded by Aristotle, which fixes it at 400,000, or 1111,1 nearly to a degree. The next in point of date, is that of Archimedes, which assigns it 300,000 stades, or 833,33 to a degree. But we are not informed on what grounds these numbers were fixed upon.—Eratosthenes calculated the circumference of the earth at 250,000, or as others say, at 252,000 stades. The foundation of his computation, is the supposed accurate mensuration of the segment of a great circle of the earth, the quantity of which in degrees, and smaller divisions of space, was ascertained by corresponding celestial observations.

The segment of the meridian chosen for this purpose was the interval of space between Alexandria and Syene, both which places were thought to lie under the same meridian. This distance was measured by the surveyors of Ptolemy Euergetes, and found to be 5000 stades. The angle of the shadow of the gnomon on the Scaphia or sun dial at Alexandria amounted to  $7^{\circ} 12'$  or  $\frac{1}{4}$  part of the circle, and at Syene there was no meridian shadow whatever. Hence it was concluded, that the astronomical distance between these places being  $7^{\circ} 12'$  on the meridian, and the measured distance 5000 stades, this number multiplied by 50 would make the circumference of the globe equal to 250,000, or in more convenient numbers 252,000 stades of 700 to a degree. We are not sufficiently acquainted with the true situation of Syene to correct these calculations. If Dr. Vincent is right, the latitude coincides nearer than could be expected; ( $24^{\circ} 45'$ ;) but, according to D'Anville, Syene is  $2^{\circ}$  of longitude to the east of Alexandria, = in the middle latitude ( $27^{\circ} 36'$ ) to about  $107^{\circ}$  on the equator. Posidonius attempted the same calculation by a mensuration

uration of the arc of the meridian between Rhodes and Alexandria, founded upon observations drawn from the different altitudes of the star Canopus. His computation was 240,000 stades or about 666,6 to a degree. Hipparchus is said to have calculated it at 277,000 stades or 769 to a degree: finally, Ptolemy, on the supposition that the distance between Rhodes and Alexandria (3750 stadia) was correctly calculated by Eratosthenes, and that this was, by the celestial observation of Posidonius,  $\frac{1}{5}$  of the earth's circumference, concluded that circumference to be 180,000 stades, or 500 only to a degree. In this computation, the true meridional distance, supposing the places to lie under the same meridian, is overrated by  $2^{\circ} 16'$  equal to  $136'$  on the equator, or to 158 English miles. If then the real difference is only  $5^{\circ} 14'$  of latitude, this instead of  $\frac{1}{5}$  is rather less than  $\frac{1}{6}$  part of the circumference of the earth, which if multiplied, by the distance 3750, gives rather more than 257,962 for the circumference, instead of 180,000 or 716,56 stadia to a degree.

From the computations of the several writers above mentioned, M. Gosselin deduces this inference, (p. v.) that 'none of them compares the stade of which he speaks with the ordinary stades of Greece; and that the distinction of Olympic, Pythic, Italic, and other stades was unknown to them.' To this we cannot accede. Of the writings of Eratosthenes so little remains, that the negative side of the question would be equally doubtful with the affirmative. A smaller portion still of the geographical works of Hipparchus and Posidonius have descended to us: what acquaintance therefore they had with the different denominations of stades is not now to be ascertained. With respect to Strabo, the learned editor of the fragments of Eratosthenes is of opinion, and we think, with reason, that the stade of Eratosthenes and Strabo was the same, and both of them Olympic: if this, then, as D'Anville and other geographers think, was the usual itinerary measure, there is no more occasion for Strabo to specify it by name, than there would be for a person describing the geography of his own country to express, that the distances were estimated by measured, and not by computed miles. The silence of Ptolemy may be accounted for in the same way. The Olympic stade, with respect to its antiquity, origin, and dimensions, had been minutely described 30 years before his time, and we cannot suppose the geographer to be ignorant of the description of a measure so well adapted to his purpose, and by a man so eminent in Greek literature as Aulus Gellius.

In order to ascertain the dimensions of the stades M. Gosselin refers to those astronomical geographers of antiquity, who have calculated the number that formed the circumference of the earth,



earth. This might be admitted, if M. Gosselin could likewise inform us, to what computations those geographers adhered, who made no such calculation. Anaximander estimated the circumference at 400,000 stades, or 1111 to a degree, and only 326 English feet to a stade. But Herodotus, whose age approaches nearer to that of Anaximander than that of any other prose writer now extant, and who lived a century before Aristotle, did not surely measure by this standard, when he fixed the length of the Thracian Bosphorus, *which, he says, he measured himself*, at 120 stades only; whereas it is at least 13' in a straight line, equal to 249 stades of the standard of Anaximander. Can we suppose that Xenophon, whose march from Sardis to Babylon is so accurately laid down as to answer nearly to the distances measured on D'Anville's map according to the calculation of the Olympic stade, used any other? The word which he employs (*parasanga*) is indeed of oriental origin, but it is evident that he means by it a measure of 30' stades, as it is twice described by Herodotus. The stade, in fact, should be considered as originally a gymnastic not an astronomical measure; and although coarse, yet being taken from natural dimensions, it probably continued the same in Greece for many ages. The limits of the Panathenæan stade are yet discoverable. It was accurately measured by Vernon, Stuart, and Chandler, all of whom agree, that it contains rather more than 600 Greek feet. The calculation of the number of feet in a stade might vary in different countries; (if there were any difference in the proportion of the natural foot;) and indeed these numbers must be supposed to be in general greater than in the Olympic computation, as the artificial feet commonly in use were not taken from the athletic standard. This difference has been before observed to be adjusted among the Romans by the addition of  $\frac{1}{4}$  of 600 Roman feet to make the length of the stade correspond with Greek mensuration. But we still are of opinion, *that there was a standard measure of the stade*, as Herodotus says there was of the fathom, *ἔγγρα*, (another measure derived from nature,) and that by this standard the distances in the Greek geographical writers, if nothing be expressed to the contrary, ought to be measured.

M. Gosselin observes, that Eratosthenes and Hipparchus estimated the distance from Alexandria to the equator to be, according to the former, 21,700, and according to the latter 21,800 stades. These he divides by 700, and finds the quotient of the medium number to be equal to  $31^{\circ} 4' 17''$ , which is very nearly the true latitude of the place. This is specious, but we doubt whether it be altogether admissible. Strabo, a few lines after the passage quoted by M. Gosselin, says, that the length of the gnomon compared with the equinoctial shadow was at Alexandria

dria as 5 to 7. This reading M. Gosselin condemns, as he says it would give the latitude of  $54^{\circ} 27' 44''$ , which is obviously absurd; but if we suppose, that the author meant (as undoubtedly he did) to give the proportions between the shadow and the gnomon only, we must understand it as the complement of the latitude assigned, or  $35^{\circ} 32'$ , which is to be understood as implying the zenith distance and equal to the latitude, however erroneously reckoned; and this may be done without any alteration of the text. The above latitude, at 600 stades to a degree, amounts to 21,320 which in such large numbers is not very different from the 21,700 of Eratosthenes. M. Gosselin observes, that Eratosthenes fixed the parallel of Rhodes at 3750 stades to the north of Alexandria: by adding this number to 21,700 we get 25,450 for the distance of Rhodes from the Equator; and if this number be divided by 700, it gives  $36^{\circ} 21' 25''$ , which differs only  $7' 5''$  from modern observations. *But these are the computations of M. Gosselin himself, not of Eratosthenes.* The latter computed the difference of latitude to be  $\frac{1}{30}$  of the circumference of the earth, or  $7^{\circ} 12'$ , and the supposed distance to be 3750 stades, which gives exactly 521 not 700 to a degree. We know it was the opinion of Pliny that Eratosthenes reckoned by the Olympic stade, as he states the distance given by him to be 469 mille passus, by which number, if 3750 be divided, it gives 8 stades to a mile, or 75 to a degree, equal to 600 stades. This gives  $6^{\circ} 15'$  for the difference of latitude considered as the distance, and is exactly a mean between the latitudes of Posidonius and Ptolemy.

M. Gosselin next undertakes to prove, that a stadium of 700 to a degree was in use in other instances, wherein D'Anville was of a different opinion. We cannot follow him through all his statements but shall select some of the most noted, and in which the distances might, with most certainty, be computed. The first of these does not seem very favourable to his argument. He says, appealing to Strabo, it is 'agreed, that the whole of Spain, from the Pyrenees to its western extremity, the Sacred Promontory, is not more than 6000 stades in length.' Now, observes M. Gosselin, '6000 stades are equal to  $8^{\circ} 14', 17''$  measured on a scale of 700 to a degree on the equator, i. e. on a great circle of the earth, or  $171\frac{1}{2}$  leagues, at the rate of 20 to a degree, and this, by the opening of the compass, is the exact measure of the distance of the summit of the Pyrenees, *taken about the middle of their longitudinal extent from Cape St. Vincent.*' But Strabo did not fix upon the middle of the longitudinal extent of the Pyrenean mountains, as the point from which *his* measurement commenced. This suited M. Gosselin better than Strabo. The latter meant to express the greatest longitudinal dimensions of Spain, and measured accordingly

ingly from Pyrenæ, (Cap de Creux,) the most easterly point of the Pyrenees, 'the eastern side,' as Strabo calls it in another place, to the most westerly point, the Promontorium Sacrum, whence Polybius also commenced his measurements. Cap de Creux, according to a map of Spain, with which Arrowsmith's chart of the Mediterranean nearly agrees, is situated in lat.  $42^{\circ} 16'$  N. and long.  $3^{\circ} 28'$  E. of London. Cape St. Vincent lies in lat.  $37^{\circ} 2'$  N. and long.  $9^{\circ} 2'$  W. These differences, computed by middle latitudes, give a distance equal nearly to 656' on the equator, or  $10^{\circ} 56'$  of latitude. This amounts to 7,653 stad. very different from Strabo's own measure, which gives 6,560 only for the distance, scarcely more than one third of the difference, according to M. Gosselin's computation. Our readers will be surprised to hear that Strabo's *calculation of the latitude of Ireland was perfectly correct*, a country described by him as scarcely habitable from the coldness of its climate, and the savageness of its inhabitants. But the 36,700 stadia, on which M. Gosselin grounds his arguments, are not to be found (by us at least) in Strabo. He says, indeed, by implication, that Ireland was not more than 5,000 stadia from the Celtic or Borysthenic parallel, and 5,000 stad. northward from thence (lat.  $46^{\circ} 37'$ ) will not correspond with M. Gosselin's numbers, nor his principles. The mouth of the Borysthenes is situated in lat.  $46^{\circ} 34'$  nearly, and the difference of this lat. from that of the southern coast of Ireland is  $4^{\circ} 44'$ , or, according to M. Gosselin,  $5^{\circ} 51'$ . The former of these gives 1,005 stad. to a degree, and the latter 850, both very different from 700.

M. Gosselin affirms, without reserve, that Eratosthenes assigned 8,800 stades for the distance between Carthage and the pillars of Hercules, and for this he appeals to the authority of Strabo. But Strabo gives 8,000 stades only for this interval; he must, therefore, according to M. Gosselin, be corrected by Pliny, who gives 1,100 mille passus. This is not, we may observe, the common reading, but we shall not insist upon that. The stades of Pliny, however, were 600 to a degree, and those of Eratosthenes 700. If Pliny then, contrary to his usual custom, adjusted the stades of Eratosthenes to Roman miles of 75 to a degree, the number must have been 10,266 instead of 8,800. M. Gosselin alters or warps Strabo or Pliny at will to support his own speculations; a practice which we do not much admire.

We must now notice the author's observations on the stade of Anaximander at 1111. 1 to a degree. He thinks that this was in use in the East, and particularly in the calculations of the distances to be found in the Voyage of Nearchus. After the labours of Dr. Vincent and Mr. Rennell, we cannot be expected to enter minutely into the question concerning the length of this *stade*. It seems

however to be rather improperly so called, being, as we suspect, an Oriental or Indian measure. Dr. Vincent has observed, that it does not correspond with the distances in Arrian's History of Alexander, which are reckoned by the Olympic stadium, although it accords, in general, with the Journal of Nearchus, probably as the latter referred to the local measures of the country. We cannot place much confidence in the calculations of Herodotus of the length of the Caspian, (calculations deduced from the number of days sail,) when we consider that they were taken from vessels necessarily of a rude construction, navigating a sea little frequented, the shape and extent of which were, at that time, but imperfectly known. Polybius is next introduced as making use of this Oriental stade, on the classic ground of antiquity, the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. This is the more extraordinary as he is known, in other computations, to have used the Greek stade of 600 feet.

'Polybius,' says M. Gosselin, 'reckoned 18,837 stades in a direct line from the Pillars of Hercules to the strait of Sicily, and under the parallel of  $36^{\circ}$ ; this measure corresponds with  $20^{\circ} 57' 20''$ . Our actual experiments assign  $21^{\circ} 27'$  in point of longitude, as the intervening space between these points, which is only  $29' 40''$  more than the distance given by Polybius.'

But, according to Strabo's account, there was no measurement of the direct distance. The number of stadia was inferred from a supposed computation of 11,200 stad. and more, as the distance from Messina to Narbonne, and somewhat less than 8,000 stad. from Narbonne to the Pillars, the amount of the whole being 19,200. From this he deducts 500, which Polybius thought was the difference between the circuitous voyage by Narbonne, and the direct course to the Pillars. But the slightest inspection of any map of the Mediterranean will shew, that much more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  part ought to be deducted. The distance from Messina to Narbonne is 675' on the equator, and from Narbonne to Gibraltar\* 573', the sum of which is 1,248'. The direct distance from Messina to Gibraltar is 1,033' 6; the difference 214' 4, more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  instead of  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the distance. M. Gosselin is very imprudent in drawing geographical conclusions from data so obviously incorrect, and, if true, so little to the purpose.

Our readers, we think, will scarcely expect to hear of an exact measure of our own island, taken by Pytheas, of Marseilles, 300 years before the Christian era. To increase the surprise, it was taken in oriental stades, and a measure, according to M. Gosselin, of the eastern coasts of the kingdom was constructed, which began from the Land's-end, the most westerly point of Eng-

\* The angle between these distances is about  $113^{\circ}$ .

land. But even this strange measurement is incorrect. The distance from the Land's-end to the North Foreland is 435' of long. equal to about 275' on the equator, and the difference of lat. between the North Foreland and Duncansby-head,  $8^{\circ} 30'$  of lat. equal to 510' on the equator. The sum of these is 785', or  $262\frac{1}{2}$  leagues, not 360 according to M. Gosselin.

We now come to the stade of 666  $\frac{1}{2}$  to a degree, which M. Gosselin supposes was employed by Patrocles, the admiral of Seleucus Nicator, in his Indian expedition. The boundaries of some of the distances, which he specifies, are so indeterminate, that we cannot follow him; we shall, however, select one, less exceptionable than the rest, yet not without its difficulties. Strabo says, that while Megasthenes and Eratosthenes assigned 20,000 stad. for the breadth of India, Patrocles allowed only 12,000; but from what points this measurement was taken we are not informed. M. Gosselin, however, supplies these defects: he measures the extent of the land by a sea voyage, and assumes two points, neither of which Patrocles probably ever reached; if he did, he was certainly incapable with any instruments which he possessed, of measuring the direct distance between them. The expressions themselves of Strabo are confused, and doubtful. Patrocles at one time appears to have reckoned the length of this side of India at 14,000, and at another, at 15,000 stad. But the distance of the points which M. Gosselin lays down is greater than he assigns. The difference between the lat. of Cape Comorin and the eastern mouth of the Ganges is, according to Major Rennell,  $14^{\circ} 20'$ , equal to 860' of lat. and of long. 848', or to  $818\frac{1}{2}$  on the equator. The distance then is nearly 1,186' on the equator; 385 leagues, not 360, as M. Gosselin supposes.

Of the instances of stadia of 500 to a degree, the first which M. Gosselin produces is in the distance from Cape Leuca, in Italy, to Cephalæ, Cape Mesurat, in Africa. This Strabo calls 4000 stad. equal to  $8^{\circ}$  of lat. but the real distance on Arrowsmith's chart, with which D'Anville nearly concurs, is no more than  $5^{\circ} 47' = 347'$  or 3,160 stad. at 500 to a degree, 116 leagues instead of 160.—This instance is rather unfortunately selected.

That of 833  $\frac{1}{2}$  to a degree, is derived from a calculation of the circumference of the earth by Archimedes, who made it 300,000 stad. But we cannot find in Strabo, or any other author, that such a one was ever actually in use: this, however, is no objection to M. Gosselin, who employs it without scruple, and measures the distances given by Eratosthenes, who himself invented a stade, by this standard. Chronology, however, here seems to stand in his way, as *Eratosthenes died before the time of Archimedes*. Setting aside this objection, is it to be supposed, that Eratosthenes

computed the distance from Rhodes to Issus by a stade of 833 to a degree, and to Alexandria, from the same place, by one of 700? But M. Gosselin has not only discovered a variety of new stades, but has also assumed a liberty of determining for each author, what particular one he used; and as these vary in the proportion of eleven to five, and upwards, scarcely any ancient distance can be found, which may not be reconciled to modern measures by so great a latitude of interpretation. We cannot but admire M. Gosselin's dexterity at accommodations of this kind, when he discovers that *Eratosthenes computed the distance from Cape St. Vincent, in Spain, to the western coast of the kingdom of Siam, an extent of 71,600 stad. with a variation from truth of no more than 160 stad. or of four leagues out of 1,722, or  $\frac{1}{11}$  part of the whole distance!*

We shall give one example more of M. Gosselin's dexterity in this practice. Pliny says, that the length of the Mediterranean was, according to the calculations of Agrippa, 3,440 mille passus, = 27,520 olympic stadia, or, on the parallel of  $36^{\circ}$ , to  $56^{\circ} 41' 38''$ . Here, says M. Gosselin, Agrippa was deceived to the amount of  $15^{\circ} 11' 38''$ , the true distance being only  $41^{\circ} 30'$ . But, according to M. Gosselin, if we take these stadia to be those of 833 $\frac{1}{4}$  to a degree, it will produce  $41^{\circ} 51'$ , which is but  $39'$  different from the truth. Still, however, here are several circumstances taken for granted, of which we entertain a doubt. That the numbers ascribed by Pliny to Agrippa's calculations were erroneous is certain, and indeed Pliny entertained a suspicion of this kind himself, 'in quo haud scio an sit error numeri;' and this might arise from a discrepancy between these numbers and those of Polybius, which he had given just before, and which came very near the truth. Dr. Blair suggests, 'that an X, making a difference of a thousand miles, had been casually added to the numbers of Agrippa, which constituted in reality the excess,' (very nearly) 'above the true distance.' This seems the most natural way of accounting for the variation; but Pliny himself gives a specific reason for his suspicion of an error. Immediately after the words above cited, he adds, 'quoniam idem a Siculo freto Alexandriam cursus XII. L. tradidit.' The true distance from Messina to Alexandria, reckoned by middle latitudes, is 1,015 mille passus, and though Pliny might not know this accurately, yet he might, and probably did know, that 1,250 was above the truth, and this led him to suspect, that the part of the interval, which lay between the Streights and the Pillars, and indeed the whole distance from thence to Issus was over-rated also. The computation of the latter distance by Polybius, rather fell short of, than exceeded the truth, as the length of the Mediterranean appears by the Requisite Tables, and Arrowsmith's chart, to be



be 2,496 Roman miles, or 48 miles above the collected numbers of Polybius. M. Gosselin, however, desires to reconcile to fact the numbers, as they stand; and therefore supposes, 'that the original numbers given by the surveyors were intended to signify stades of  $833 \frac{1}{2}$  to a degree, but that Pliny, not being acquainted with this part of their system, reduced them to Roman measure, as if they had been Olympic stad. of 8 to a Roman mile, or of 600 to a degree.' This appears a very improbable conjecture. Agrippa, whose numbers are recorded by Pliny, was minister to Augustus at the time of the survey. Can we suppose, that such a man would publish a report of the measurement of the Roman empire, made by persons ignorant of the proportions which subsisted between the measures used in their own observations, and the Roman standard mile, by which, as we are told by Polybius, *all the distances in Spain, Gaul, and Italy, had been measured and marked out by mile stones; and this, after 25 years had been occupied in such examination?* Such persons would scarcely have merited the character of 'viros prudentissimos, & omni philosophiæ munere ornatos.'—Æthici Pref. ad Cosmograph.

We repeat our persuasion, that a stade, derived from the calculation of the earth's circumference by Archimedes, never had any existence as an itinerary measure. The calculation itself is only casually mentioned in the Arenarius, but no account is given of its origin, no deductions are drawn from it, nor is any stade founded on it, named, or alluded to by any writer of antiquity, with whom we are acquainted. In short, we cannot forbear expressing our opinion, that the Olympic stade of 600 to a degree was, among the ancient Greek writers, the only itinerary stade, and always to be understood, where stades are generally mentioned.

The same measure, although not professedly, was nevertheless virtually adopted by the Romans. The Peutingerian tables, and the itinerary of Antoninus, which express distances by Roman miles, correspond with the proportionate number of stadia given by other authors, of these distances according to Olympic measure. Tournefort remarks, that the distances on the southern coast of the Black Sea were computed according to the calculation of Arrian of eight stades to a mile, and it appears that those on the same coast marked in the Peutingerian tables in Roman miles agree with this stade, and with no other. Livy expresses many distances in mille passus, which were evidently copied from Polybius, and computed by him at the rate of eight stades to a Roman mile.

The dissertation on itinerary measures is followed by an explanation of the different modes of arranging the winds observed by the ancients, and a comparison of them with the compass card of the moderns. Here we wish to apprise our readers, that in-

telligibility is scarcely attainable on the condition of a very rigorous brevity.

We object to the introductory remark of M. Gosselin, because it affects an accuracy which is not well supported.

'In order,' he says, 'to understand correctly what the ancients have delivered concerning the direction of the winds, we ought to recollect, that they changed, *at least six times*, the divisions in their systems, for the purpose of increasing the number of the appellations which they comprise, or of establishing the distribution of them upon different principles.' p. xcvi.

The intention of one of these alterations was certainly not to increase, but to abridge the number of denominations of the winds; for Pliny expressly says, '*secuta ætas octo addidit, nimis subtili (ratione scilicet) et concisa,*' where he censures these minute subdivisions. He observes again, '*proximis inter utramque media (ratio nempe) placuit, ad brevem ex numerosâ additis quatuor.*' But nothing occurs concerning the principles on which these alterations were made. M. Gosselin begins his account with an appearance of great simplicity, and presents his readers with a table or diagram of two winds. 'The ancient Greeks,' he says, 'divided the circle of the horizon into two parts only, and were acquainted with no more than two winds, the north and the south!' For this he refers to Thrasyalces, as cited by Strabo; but there is sufficient reason why he should not have appealed to such authority. 'Some writers,' says Strabo, 'assert, that there are two *principal* winds, the north and the south, and that the rest differ by a slight inclination to one or to the other of these.' Lib. 1. p. 42. Ed. Ox. In a subsequent passage he says, 'they produce the testimony of Thrasyalces, and of the poet himself, that there are two winds; (meaning, as we collect from the preceding extract, two *principal* winds;) but Posidonius affirms, that *no writers of celebrity on this subject*, as Aristotle, Timosthenes, and Bion the Astronomer, have treated of the winds in this manner.' Casaubon would have furnished M. Gosselin with an ancient system still more simplified, composed of *one* wind only. But Aristotle, in the passage to which he refers, speaks of the *physical* constitution of the winds in general, and reflects upon the refinement of those persons who would reduce them to one: 'whence,' says he, 'some who wish to speak learnedly, affirm that all the winds are one wind.' 'Wherefore,' he concludes, 'the multitude talk more correctly without learned research, than those who, with the aid of such research, speak in this manner.' Meteor. lib. i. c. xiii.

It appears, then, that M. Gosselin has adopted some exploded notions as the foundation of his first diagram. The real commencement

mencement of an inquiry into the distribution of the winds is from the diagram which contains the four that blow from the cardinal points, or, as M. Gosselin properly distinguishes them, 'the winds of the north, Boreas; the winds of the east, Euros or Apeliotes; the winds of the south, Notos; and the winds of the west, Zephyros.' The title of the next section of M. Gosselin's disquisition, is, 'the card (*rose*) of eight winds, used by Homer.' Pliny, however, expressly says, that Homer names four only. 'Veteres quatuor omnino servavere, per totidem mundi partes (ideo nec Homerus plures nominat) secuta ætas octo addidit.' Lib. 2. c. 47.

M. Gosselin refers this system of eight winds to a period of 'more than ten centuries before the Christian æra', and asserts that the four secondary winds were disposed in the following manner:—Between the north and the east they placed the Boreas Euros, or the winds of the north-east; between the south and the east, the winds of the south-east, Notos Apeliotes; between the west and the south, the winds of the south-west, Argestes Notos; between the west and the north, the winds of the north-west, or Zephyros Boreas. This nomenclature, we must observe, is the author's own. He does not even pretend to produce any authority for some of these appellations. Boreas Euros, as a denomination of the north-east wind, is an unnecessary compound, because Boreas, without any addition, was specifically used to denote some wind in a direction between the north and east, after it had ceased to be employed to express the direct north. The term Zephyros Boreas must be rejected, because, as we have just seen, Boreas never signified a wind in any direction between the west\* and north. Neither do we find any such designation as Notos Apeliotes for any wind between the east and south. Our authority for censuring these innovations is, in part, the *Tabula Ventorum* in the first volume of the Oxford edition of Strabo. We say *in part*, because the systems of other writers might be added.

We have animadverted upon *this* table of eight winds, as a mere fabrication of M. Gosselin, although he introduces it with a kind of historical testimony in its favour, alleging, that 'more than ten centuries before the Christian æra, four secondary winds were added to the preceding; namely, the four cardinal winds. We cannot, however, discover whence he took the appellations to which we have objected; certainly not from Strabo, the Temple of the Winds, the Geoponica, Agathemerus, Ptolemy, Vegetius, Pliny, Aristotle, or Vitruvius. 'Homer,' says M. Gosselin, 'used this table in his poems.'—Whenever the name of Homer occurs, we presume upon the attention of our readers. He is said 'to name two of the secondary winds, the Argestes Notos, which Posidonius says is the Leuco-Notos of the table of the Greeks of

'Alexandria, and the violent Zephyros or the west, which inclined to the north, Zephyros Boreas, (a name, as we observed above, no where to be found but in M. Gosselin's disquisition,) which Posidonius refers to the Argestes of the same system.' M. Gosselin further remarks, that 'this passage of Posidonius induced Casaubon to suppose that Homer had determined the situation of the four secondary winds from the place of the solstitial rising and setting of the sun.' This we cannot discover in the language of Casaubon, whose words are—He (Strabo) shews, from the opinion of Posidonius, how the appellations of the winds are to be understood. When the poet names the hard-blowing Zephyros, he means the wind which we call Argestes; by the gentle blowing Zephyros, he denotes the wind, properly called Zephyros; and by Argestes Notos the Leuco Notos. We cannot, however, even with all these helps, increase the number of winds beyond six.—The Argestes Notos could not be the Leuco Notos, because Argestes is applied to a wind north, or to a wind south of the west, but *never* to a wind south of the east. Posidonius, therefore, remarks that Argestes, in this passage of Homer, is to be considered as an epithet merely; (so indeed are the other appellations of the westerly winds, for which he has found corresponding technical terms;) and by thus relaxing the signification, he might be allowed to find its synonym on the south-east, which he could not have done if it had retained a scientific and definite import.

M. Gosselin has also some observations on a passage in Homer, in which he maintains that Zephyros and Boreas blow on the coast of Troy from Thrace. Eratosthenes, he adds, has censured it improperly, by comparing it with the system of twelve winds, which was in use at Alexandria in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus; and Strabo has vindicated it upon imperfect information. The question is, what were the limits of Thrace at this period? It is amusing to see with what facility M. Gosselin decides it. 'It is sufficient,' says he, 'to recollect that, *at the time of Homer*, the name of Macedonia did not exist, and that the name of Thrace was given to all the tract of country comprehended between the Propontis and the Adriatic.'—We believe that this might be the case at some period or other, because Pliny gives a similar account of its extent, but the date when these limits were assigned is not quite so certain. M. Gosselin has another explanation, which, if founded on ancient testimony, would be likewise sufficient.

'The poet having visited the Troad, acquired there, with respect to the surrounding countries, notions which Strabo had not, because he had not been in that part of Asia. Thus, to explain Homer, this geographer supposes that the western parts of Thrace extended more towards the south than they actually did.'

We

We have no opportunity of knowing how defective the information of Strabo might be respecting Thrace, as the part of his work relating to this tract is unfortunately lost. Strabo imputes the censure of Homer by Eratosthenes not to his ignorance of the geography of this quarter, nor to his assumption of a subsequent arrangement of the winds, as a standard of the errors of the poet, but to a perverse and fastidious disposition.

We now proceed to the table of eight winds, d'après Aristote. We regret that we are so often under the necessity, not indeed of expressing a difference in opinion, but of contradicting M. Gosselin's statements. The table of winds, according to Aristotle, in the second book of his Meteorology, contains *twelve* instead of *eight*. Between Aparctias, the north, and Apeliotes, the east, are Boreas and Cæcias; between Apeliotes and Notos, the south, are Euros and Euronotos; between Notos and Zephyros, the west, are Libonotos and Libs; between Zephyros and Aparctias are Argestes and Thrascias. M. Gosselin says, that the construction of the octagonal tower of the winds is commonly referred to this system; but the regularity of its shape evinces that 'it cannot be so, since the collateral winds would be thus indicated in the most imperfect manner.' The architect, if we may rely upon Vitruvius, had no intention to provide particularly for 'the collateral winds' upon the faces of the sides. Some, he says, have supposed that there were four winds: but 'qui diligentius perquisiverunt, traderunt eos esse octo, maxime quidem Andronicus Cyrrhestes, qui etiam exemplum collocavit Athenis turrin marmoream octogonon.' M. Gosselin is of opinion that the antiquity of this monument is not so great as has been usually thought, because the regularity of its sides is a presumptive argument that 'it was built after the conquest of Greece by the Romans, and when the division of the winds according to amplitudes had been abandoned.' It is, at least, as probable that its date is anterior to the introduction of that mode of division. The testimony of Vitruvius will shew that it might be planned upon another principle, and may tend to explain why no portion of the sides was assigned to 'the collateral winds,' and authorise the conclusion that the antiquity of this edifice is greater than that ascribed to it by M. Gosselin. 'Fortasse,' says Vitruvius, 'mirabuntur ii, qui multa ventorum nomina noverunt, quod à nobis expositum sit tantum modo octo esse ventos. Si autem animadverterint orbis terræ circuitionem per solis cursum & gnomonis equinoctialis umbras ex inclinatione cœli ab Eratosthene Cyreneo, rationibus mathematicis & geometricis methodis esse inventam:' here he specifies the numbers, '*hujus autem octava pars quam ventus tenere videtur,*' and here he gives the eighth part of the preceding numbers, '*non debebunt mirari,*

*si in tam magno spatio unus ventus vagando inclinationibus & recessionibus varietates mutatione flatus faciat.* This last sentence will afford a sufficient explanation of the mode in which Vitruvius understood 'the collateral winds' to have their range in this system.

We pass to that of twelve winds, according to Timosthenes, the commander of the fleet of Ptolemy Philadelphus. We are disposed to suspect that this name has been selected merely to accord with the chronological prefaces, which M. Gosselin has prefixed to the account of each table of the winds. We do not see why it should have the name of Timosthenes rather than that of Aristotle. 'About the time of Alexander,' says M. Gosselin, 'four new winds were added to the table, and the number was increased to twelve.' We know not why the period of Ptolemy should be preferred to that of Alexander, except that the former coincided with M. Gosselin's historical arrangement, to which the latter would have been decidedly hostile. He concludes with the table of twenty-four winds, according to Vitruvius: to this we do not object. After all, the enumeration is not complete. M. Gosselin has overlooked the system of winds used by the author whose work he professes to illustrate, agreeing neither with that of the Tower at Athens, nor that which he ascribes to Aristotle. There is added a catalogue of synonyms of the winds, which are chiefly local. Our limits will not permit us to examine them in detail; but we would recommend our readers not to use them for the purposes of argument, or classification, till they have been verified. The disquisition is very deficient in the account of the Etesian winds, and the properties of the winds in general are wholly neglected.\*

Of the translation itself, we cannot be expected, for the reasons already given, to say much. The edition of the original, which has been followed, is that of Casaubon, printed at Paris in 1620. The splendid edition of Janson of Almeloveen, printed at Amsterdam in 1707, does not contain any new collations of MSS. nor any emendation of the Latin version by Xylander. The choice of the edition of the original therefore is not injudicious. We had indeed once proposed to ourselves to compare the notes of M. Gosselin with those of the Oxford editor, but the number of unpublished éclaircissemens which are promised, amounting to no less than 117 in the first book, consisting of 172 pages, precludes in a great measure any decision upon the critical merit of the transla-

\* It has been said, that 'the arrangement of the different winds, mentioned in ancient authors according to the points of the compass, contains little more than the account given by Coray in his edition of Hippocrates,' we venture to assert, that it contains much less. The tabular view of Mr. Coray contains the systems of a greater variety of authors, and the catalogue explains the 'qualities of the winds.'



tion, as well as upon the value of the illustrations, and their originality. In the notes subjoined to the translation, we discover that M. Gosselin is not, what he terms, a partizan of Homer, and he endeavours to accommodate the early geography to his own hypothesis of the limited knowledge which the poet had of the habitable world. We shall now, without further anticipation, proceed to our remarks.

Page 2. We apprehend that the following passage of the author is not correctly rendered by the French translator: 'Ὡς δ' αὖτως καὶ ἡ ἀφέλεια ποιήσῃ τις ἕσα κ. τ. λ. Enfin la science géographique donne tant d'avantages pour se conduire dans la vie civile, et dans les affaires de gouvernement. Strabo is shewing that the study of geography was a branch of true philosophy. He first observes, that the speculative science, which was necessary for a geographer, was also characteristic of a philosopher: and secondly, that the practical utility of those branches of knowledge which a geographer must study, entitled him to the same rank; inasmuch as it is the business of philosophy to promote the art of living, and human happiness.

Page 19. The word astronomiques has been unnecessarily substituted for météorologiques in this passage: La géographie, spécialement dite, paroît donc s'unir en quelque sorte aux études astronomiques et géométriques. Elle embrasse et les phénomènes terrestres et les phénomènes célestes comme choses très-voisines, et non point séparées autant "que le ciel est distant de la terre."—There is a good note of Casaubon, which shews that meteorology was a branch of astronomy. But Strabo seems to have in view the opinions and doctrine of Democritus, whom, in the commencement of his work, he has ranked among those who combined the pursuits of philosophy with the study of geography, '*qui primus* (says Pliny) *intellexit ostenditque cum terris cæli societatem, prævisa olei caritate ex futuro vergiliarum ortu,*' &c.—Lib. xviii. c. 28.

Page 23. M. Gosselin refers to Pelorum the story of Pelorus, the pilot of Hannibal; but the Oxford editor has more judiciously observed from Bochart, that Pelorum was named antecedently to the time of Hannibal.

Page 61. M. Gosselin has adopted a note of Casaubon respecting the birth-place of Homer, as if it were Chios; the Oxford editor reconciles Strabo with Thucydides, and the hymn to Apollo ascribed to Homer, by interpreting the words οἰκῇ δὲ Χίῳ, as relating not to the place of the poet's birth, but to the place of his residence at that time.

Page 208. ὁλοσχερῇ τινι τύπῳ sommairement. Presque tous les exemples cités dans les lexiques ordinaires, paroissent donner à ce terme la signification de parfait, d'absolu, d'entier. Ici Strabon  
lui

lui donne celle d'imparfait, général, de en gros, en somme. The Oxford editor has explained it as denoting a certain figure which should comprehend the whole, but not relate to the minute details of geography.

Page 213. We think the diagram drawn to explain the reasoning of Hipparchus, is less complex in the Oxford edition.

Page 221. M. Gosselin has a very careless note on Mesene. 'It comprehended,' he says, 'the low and sandy tract through which the Euphrates flowed before its entrance into the Persian gulph. The name of Mesene extended a little to the west of the river.' Stephanus Byzantin speaks of Mesene as encompassed by the Tigris, where it separates into two branches. There was also an island of this name at the mouth of the Tigris, mentioned by Dion Cass. and Philostorgius, cited by the Oxford editor.

Page 229. The Oxford editor seems to have understood the passage more correctly than M. Gosselin respecting the censure of Eratosthenes by Hipparchus, who misrepresented his sentiments.

Page 257. M. Gosselin properly remarks, that Darius did not send persons to circumnavigate Africa. He therefore supposes, that the text of Strabo is altered in this place, and that we ought to substitute Necho for Darius. The Oxford editor thinks that the error is committed by Posidonius, and the text incorrupt.

Page 260. Lui fournirent de l'eau. Le texte porte *ὕδατος*, ce qui signifieroit, de la santé. Malgré l'uniformité de cette leçon dans tous les manuscrits, nous restons persuadés, comme l'ont été Xylander et Casaubon, qu'il faut lire *ὕδατος*. In the Oxford edition Villebrun says, 'sic Par. 1. et bene; de victu.'

Page 384. M. Gosselin's note on the tract in Spain denominated Cuneus, has not superseded the learning of the Oxford editor. He has well remarked, that the word Cuneus is of Celtic and not of Greek or Latin origin.

Page 392. Le mont Calpe—que de loin, on le prendroit pour une île. Le texte porte *ηχοειδής*. The true reason of the name, Calpe, is the shape of the rock, which resembles that of an ancient hydria, or water vessel, and hence the Calpe on the Euxine Sea had the same appellation.

Page 401. Julia. M. Gosselin did not perceive that this name is probably incorrect. The Oxford editor has suggested *Οὐλία*, Ulia, and supported it with an admirable historical argument.

Page 404. Lieu nommé les Cotines. The note of the Oxford editor is better, because more decisive, than that of the French annotator. The Nubian geographer cited by the former supplies, if not the word itself, yet more than the vestiges of it.

Page 411. Les Saltiates. M. Gosselin proposes *ΣΑΛΤΙΦΗΤΑΙ*, a correction which we cannot but approve.

Page 448. 'Ils se servent de vases de terre comme les Gaulois.' This is the version of the Greek, which, in the note, is thus explained: 'Le texte porte, de vases de cire KHPINOIS δὲ ἀγγείοις, leçon qui se trouve sans variation, et dans toutes les versions. Bréquigny seul a mis dans sa traduction Française, des vases de verre; mais il s'est aperçu dans la suite, qu'il falloit lire KHPAMEOIS δὲ ἀγγείοις des vases de terre. Casaubon s'est trompé d'une manière étrange en s'imaginant que les vases de cire pouvoient avoir quelque rapport avec ce que dit Diodore de Sicile de l'usage des Gaulois. Il est question, dans cet auteur, des rayons de miel (car il faut y lire *κηρία* au lieu de *κήρινα* dont les Gaulois, après en avoir exprimé le miel, lavoient le marc, afin de se servir ensuite de ce lavage, soit seul, ou mêlé avec de la bière.' The Greek passage is, *Κηρίοις δὲ ἀγγείοις χρῶνται, καθάπερ οἱ Κελτοί*. We are of opinion that the true meaning is not yet ascertained; for many commentators seem to think, that the epithet is descriptive of the materials of these vessels, whereas it is more probable, that it indicates their use and the nature of their contents. No alteration of the text of Strabo is necessary, and all the MSS. agree in reading *κηρίοις*. We had interpreted it beer vessels on the authority of the following passage of Pliny, which furnishes the origin of the word in question, and which seems to have been hitherto overlooked. 'Ex iisdem fiunt & potus, zythum in Ægypto, CÆLIA & CERIA IN HISPANIA, CERVISIA & plura genera in Gallia, aliisque provinciis.' Lib. xxii. c. 25, ad fin. The French note gives the meaning in conformity with the note and version in Diodorus Siculus. This writer observes, that the country of the Gauls produces neither wine nor oil. Deprived of these productions, therefore, the natives prepare from barley a species of drink called zythos—then follows this passage; καὶ τὰ ΚΗΡΙΑ πλύνοντες, τῷ τέταν ἀποπλύματι χρῶνται. Lib. v. p. 350. Ed. Wess. which is thus translated by Rhodoman: 'favos etiam aqua diluunt, dilutumque hoc potum illis præstat.' The note is to this purport. 'Auctor oenomeli designat, aut certè ζύθος πικρὸν μετὰ μέλιτος ἐσκευασμένον, uti Posidonius in Athen. lib. iv. p. 152. C.' Casaubon has written *κήρινα* in the extract from Diodorus, which the French annotator thinks does not relate to the same subject. We propose the following version of Diodorus; 'and when they have washed out the beer vessels, they use or drink the washings of them.' After KHPIA we supply ἀγγεία. Toup suggests *κερατίοις*, but we apprehend, that the misinterpretation has arisen from directing the attention to the materials of which these vessels were made. We do not determine whether KHPIA, or KHPINA be the most proper, because the substantive of which these are derivatives, is not accurately known, except from the analogy afforded by the passage of

of Pliny. Diodorus mentions the eagerness of the Gauls to indulge in excessive drinking, and seems to produce the above, as one instance of this disposition. The Latin term *cervisia* preserves the elementary letters of the obsolete Welsh word *korev*, signifying beer. The following passage from a Spanish writer concerning the use of this liquor in his native country is so far curious, as it illustrates one of the indigenous names mentioned by Pliny. 'Postmodum diu obsidione conclusi Numantini duabus de subito portis cuncti eruperunt, larga prius potione usi, non vini, cujus ferax is locus non est, sed succo tritici per artem confecto, quem succum a calefaciendo celiam vocant.' Paulus Orosius, lib. v. c. 7.

We conclude for the present our examination of this important work. The text has been occasionally corrected, by the assistance of six MSS. of the Imperial Library, numbered 1393, 1394, 1395, 1396, 1397, and 1408, an account of which is to be found in the preface to the edition by Siebenkees, p. xxxiii. and additional particulars respecting some of them in the preface to the Oxford edition by Mr. Falconer. The readings of other MSS. have been collected from Siebenkees, who obtained the only collations, those of the Vatican MSS. which the Oxford editor failed to procure. The number of '*éclaircissemens*,' to which constant references occur in the first book, is reduced very much in the second, and there are few, if any, in the third.

We think that the author might have consulted with advantage Schöennemann's Dissertation on the Geography of Homer, and Seidel's edition of the fragments of Eratosthenes. In comparing the annotations of M. Gosselin and the Oxford editor, we observe that the opinions of the ancient astronomers and geographers on speculative topics are subjoined more at large to the French version of the first and second books; and that the Oxford editor has not pursued this part of the subject with so much minuteness, and to such an extent; but the learning of M. Gosselin is frequently deprived of its full merit, by a constant endeavour to systematize every independent fact, and to reconcile, by means of measures of varying quantities, computations and measurements, which derive their value from the very differences which he would remove.

M. Gosselin has added maps to illustrate the notions of the ancients, and Strabo in particular, respecting the habitable world, but he has not explained the geography of Spain, the subject of the third book, by any chorographical table whatever. We have already observed that M. Coray was selected to assist in the translation; we were therefore somewhat surprised to find so eminent a scholar spoken of in terms of contempt, and charged with having ignorantly introduced 'the leaven of modern Greek into many of his remarks on Hippocrates and Herodotus.' If he rejected an atticism, it was because

because he did not think it necessary to reduce the Greek of Strabo to that standard of purity: but till the corrections of the text shall be assigned to their respective authors, we would restrain our censure in deference to the opinion of Schweighaeuser: 'Denique eximium ac prorsus singulare decus ac præsidium est, quo hoc nostrum institutum ornare voluit vir doctus Adamantes CORAY, Smyrnensis, ut Medicinæ Doctor solertissimus, sic in Græcarum literarum, quæ ei vernaculæ sunt, exquisitori studio verissimus Valckenarianæ & Ruhnkenianæ scholæ alumnus; qui suas in plurima difficiliora vexataque Athenæi loca emendationes & adnotationes, non minus profunditate eruditionis, quam ingenii acumine insignes ultro mihi obtulit communicavitque. Præf. in Athen. p. cxvii, cxviii.

M. De La Porte Du Theil has the care of the Greek MSS. in the Paris Library, and is the author of several memoirs in the collection of the papers of the French academy. M. Gosselin is known by his learned publications on ancient geography. We have had occasion to censure this work in various parts, but we still consider it as an accession to the literature of the century; and although we cannot adopt every opinion and emendation, yet they are the result of too much learning to justify the neglect of them, and indeed they may worthily exercise the talents and erudition of any future editor or translator of Strabo.

ART. II. *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul; being the Substance of Observations made during a Mission to that Country, in the Year 1793.* By Colonel Kirkpatrick. Illustrated with a Map and other Engravings. 4to. pp. 386. London. Miller. 1811.

TO the advertisement announcing the publication of the work before us, is appended the following notice:

'N. B. This volume is dedicated to the Honourable the Court of Directors, and is the first published account of a country hardly known even by name, and is almost a blank in the maps of India.'

We notice this little flourish, because it is calculated to mislead. It contains, in fact, no less than three mistakes in the compass of as many lines. In the first place, it is not the 'first published account' of Nepaul. In the second volume of the Asiatic Researches, there is a very curious and interesting description of this country, communicated by Sir John Shore, now Lord Teignmouth, from the works of Giuseppè Bernini, prefect of the Roman missions, who resided at Lellit Pattan, a city of Nepaul, for

for many years. Secondly, this country 'hardly known even by name,' is not only known, but described, by Major Rennell, in his 'Memoir of a Map of Hindostan.' It is mentioned with its capital Catmandu and river Bhagmuttery, in Captain Turner's account of the extraordinary peregrinations of the Fakcer Praun Poori, a narrative of which, communicated by Governor Duncan, is also in the Asiatic Researches, where the name of Nepaul occurs at least in fifty different places. It is described in Pinkerton's 'modern Geography,' in Guthrie's 'geographical Grammar,' and in every gazetteer published within the last twenty years. And thirdly, instead of being 'almost a blank in the maps of India,' we find it laid down, pretty much in detail, in Major Rennell's Map, published in 1788; in Arrowsmith's 'Map of Asia,' 1801, and particularly in his 'Map of India,' 1804, in which Catmandu and the other cities and towns of note, the various hills, and rivers, the latter all tributary branches of the Ganges, are distinctly marked.

That the information respecting Nepaul, and the tract of country intervening between it and Cashmir to the westward, is both scanty and inaccurate, we are ready to admit; and when it is considered that the frontier of Bengal borders on Nepaul, that the horizontal distance from the former to the capital of the latter does not exceed seventy miles, it may be thought remarkable that a more frequent and intimate intercourse has not been established. But the truth is, that these mountaineers are exceedingly jealous of their British neighbours, who, on their part, are restrained by difficulties of a physical as well as political nature. As some account of those mountainous regions, and particularly of Nepaul, may serve as an useful introduction to Colonel Kirkpatrick's book, we are induced to draw up a summary sketch of what is known of them.

That portion of those elevated regions of Tartary, which lie to the westward of Thibet, is separated from the plains of Hindostan by an immense chain of mountains, running in the direction W.N.W. and E.S.E. called Himmaleh, or more properly Himmalaya, a term in the Sanscrit language signifying 'the abode of snow.' This great chain is supposed by Major Rennell to be a continuation of the Emodus and Paropamisus of the ancients, the Imäus of Pliny, *incolarum lingua nivolum significante*, and to be equal in height to any of the mountains of the old hemisphere, being commonly, we may add eternally, covered with snow, and visible from the plains of Bengal, at the distance of 150 miles. About that part of this magnificent barrier, in whose bosom lies the secluded valley of Cashmir, a number of inferior mountains branch out towards the plains of Hindostan, and, at the distance of 80 or 100 miles from the



the Himmalaya, form a connected range, continuing in a direction parallel to the former, along the provinces of Lahore, Oude, Bahar and Bengal. Of the height of that part which borders on Bengal, we may form a tolerable idea from the following passage of Major Rennell: 'The southernmost ridge of the Bootan mountains rises near a mile and a half perpendicular above the plains of Bengal, in a horizontal distance of only fifteen miles; and from the summit the astonished traveller looks back on the plains, as on an extensive ocean beneath him.'

Between the Himmalaya and this inferior chain is included a series of plains and valleys, distributed into a number of petty states, which, commencing with Cashmir and proceeding eastward, occur in the following succession: 1. Sirinagur. 2. Kemaon. 3. Chowbeisia, or the Country of the Twenty-four Rajahs. 4. Gorka. 5. Nepaul. 6. Bootan. 7. Assam; and 8. an unknown tract of country included in the remarkable bend of the Burampooter, where its course takes a westerly direction into the province of Bengal.

Skirting the feet of this ridge, and verging on the provinces above-mentioned, is a broad belt of country, from 15 to 20 miles in width, of swamps, jungle and forests, abounding with elephants, tygers, leopards, buffaloes, and all the wild and ferocious beasts of India. The whole of this tract is so loaded with infectious vapours, that it is very thinly inhabited. Few travellers venture even to cross it, excepting perhaps pilgrims from Hindostan, or petty traders from Thibet and Bootan. That part of the belt opposite to Nepaul is called Turyani, (swampy ground,) where, we are told by Father Guiseppe, 'people in their passage catch a disorder called in the language of the country, *aul*;' it is a putrid fever, of which the generality of those who are attacked with it die in a few days.

The Rajah of Bootan, however, notwithstanding all the dangers and difficulties of the passage, contrived to march an army into British Bengal, and to plunder the inhabitants on the frontier. The Teshoo Lama, then regent of Thibet during the minority of the Delai Lama, fearful of the consequences of this unprovoked attack, deemed it expedient to dispatch a conciliatory vakeel to Calcutta. His mediation was accepted; and in 1774 Mr. Bogle carried back the answer of the Governor General to the Teshoo Lama. This was the first time that any Englishman had crossed the mountains; nor does it appear that any farther communication was held with that country till the death of the Lama at Pekin led to the subsequent discovery of his imperishable soul in the body of an infant; upon which occasion, in 1783, Mr. Hastings dispatched Captain Turner to present his congratulations to the baby Lama at

Thibet, of which an interesting account has been given to the public.

The intercourse again ceased till the year 1792, when intelligence was received at Calcutta that the Rajah of Nepal had commenced hostilities against the Rajah of Bootan, by crossing the mountains, plundering the city of Teshoo Lomboo, the residence of the young Lama, and driving the whole fraternity of Gylongs, or priests, to the other side of the Burampooter. The Emperor of China, under whose immediate protection the Grand Lama has long considered himself, and to whom Thibet is tributary, caused a numerous army to be collected, which, after some skirmishing, succeeded in driving the Nepaulese into their own territories. The Rajah, in his turn, now became alarmed, and applied for assistance to the English. The Governor General declined interfering, except as a mediator, and, in that capacity, Colonel Kirkpatrick was dispatched to the Chinese General, with instructions to take Nepal in his way. In the mean time, however, the Rajah had found it expedient to make peace with the Chinese, at the expense of restoring all the booty which he had taken, and acknowledging himself a tributary to the Emperor of China: and, for the better security of the peace, and payment of the tribute, a number of military posts were established by the Chinese on the ridges of the hills which divide Nepal from Bootan. Colonel Kirkpatrick, having reached Patna before he was apprized of these occurrences, determined to continue his journey as far at least as Nepal, which he reached on the 3d of March, 1793.

Since that time no intercourse seems to have taken place till 1801, when Lord Wellesley sent an ambassador to Catmandu. Doctor Buchanan, availing himself of this opportunity, resided in the country for some time, and is said to have written a circumstantial account of it, which however is locked up for the present among the records of Leadenhall Street; for what reason we pretend not to divine. But the Doctor, it seems, 'obligingly communicated his MS.' to Mr. Pinkerton, who has not very 'obligingly' compressed the 'important information' with which he says it abounds, within the compass of a short note; the substance of which is, 'that Nepal is an immense plain; that 'the chain of mountains which immediately bounds Hindostan on the north is called Binda, or Vinda; that 'the goitre or swelled throat is not uncommon; that 'the people are very black, though surrounded with mountains covered with perpetual snow; that 'sheep with four horns are the common beasts of burden; that 'the best fruits are oranges and pine-apples; that Catmandu, the residence of the court, is neatly built, the houses being often of three floors; that 'a guard of females, armed with swords, attend the princess on horseback,

horseback, riding astride like men; that 'they are chosen for their beauty;' and 'that their licentiousness is equal to their charms.'

The information from Father Guiseppe is more in detail. From him we learn that, from the summits of the surrounding mountains, the plain of Nepaul exhibits a vast amphitheatre, over the surface of which lie scattered a number of cities, towns and villages, swarming with population. That the three principal cities are Catmandu, Lelit Pattan, and Bhatgan; the first containing 18,000, the second 24,000, and the third 12,000 houses, generally built of brick, and three or four stories high. The streets are paved with brick or stone, in a regular slope to carry off the water, which runs through all of them in small canals. In the gardens of the royal palace at Catmandu there are fountains of clear water. In all the towns are verandas for the accommodation of travellers and the public, and near them square tanks with flights of stone steps, for the convenience of those who may be inclined to bathe; that of Catmandu is represented as of good workmanship, and two hundred feet on each side. The temples are said to vie in splendour with those of the most populous and flourishing cities of Christendom. One of these near Lelit Pattan is described as peculiarly magnificent: the court is paved with blue marble, inlaid with flowers of bronze. From the edges of the cupolas and roofs of the pyramids are suspended a number of little bells, which, with the slightest breeze, emit a tinkling sound. The religion of the inhabitants is of two kinds; but no dissensions arise among them on that account. There was but one Mussulman in the whole country, a Cashimirian merchant, who administered to their wants, supplied them with conveniences, and locked up his Koran in his closet. The votaries of Brahma and of Buddh equally enjoy their festivals and processions without interruption or molestation from each other. The king and the court join in these processions with the inhabitants indiscriminately. Almost every day is a festival. Sometimes the idols are removed from the temples, and drawn through the streets with songs and musical instruments. On such occasions every thing wears the appearance of gaiety and joy.

Who would not suppose, from this description, that the 'Happy Valley' of the Prince of Abyssinia was realized in that of Nepaul! Surrounded on all sides by high and almost impassable mountains, the natives are secluded from the rest of mankind, and form a little world within themselves. 'The sides of those mountains are covered with trees; the banks of the brooks are diversified with flowers; every blast shakes spices from the rocks, and every month drops fruits upon the ground:' but though the 'blessings of nature are here collected,' are its evils excluded? Do the 'sages who instruct the sons and daughters of Nepaul, tell them of nothing but

the miseries of public life, and describe all beyond the mountains as regions of calamity, where discord is always raging, and where man preys upon man? Is such in reality the happy lot of the Nepaulese? Alas! man is every where the same—restless, dissatisfied, the slave of opinion, and the victim of passion.

The three cities above-mentioned were the capitals of three districts, governed by as many Rajahs: a dissention arising among them, the neighbouring Rajah of Gorka marched an army across the mountains, laid siege to Cirtipour, took possession of the passes leading to Nepaul, and, with the view of starving the natives, caused every person endeavouring to supply the country to be hanged. 'It was a most horrid spectacle,' says the good Father, 'to behold so many people hanging on the trees in the road.' In this distress, the King of Catmandu implored assistance from the English. The English were willing enough to afford it, and a detachment under Captain Kinloch crossed the Turyani for this purpose; but half of his troops died of the *aul*, and the remainder were unable to pass the mountains. Three times was the Rajah of Gorka repulsed from Cirtipour; but at length he succeeded through the means of some traitorous Brahmins, (being himself of that cast,) who induced the people to surrender the town, on the promise of a general amnesty. The Rajah, however, 'put to death all the principal inhabitants, and cut off the noses and lips of the rest, (even of infants, who were not found in the arms of their mothers,) changing, at the same time, the name of the place into Naskatapur, which signifies *the town of cut-noses*.' This is no oriental allegory. 'Many of them,' says the Jesuit, 'put an end to their lives in despair; others came in great bodies to us in search of medicines; and it was most shocking to see so many living people with their teeth and noses resembling the skulls of the deceased.'

The three great cities were successively surrendered to the Rajah of Gorka; their nobles, after promise of protection, were put to death, and their bodies mangled. The King of Catmandu died of a wound which he received in the foot; the King of Lelit Pattan was confined in irons till his death, and the King of Bhatgan, being much advanced in years, was allowed to go and die at Benares. Thus in 1769 the Rajah of Gorka got complete possession of the whole of Nepaul, and united the two countries under one government, which has continued in his family ever since.

Those of our readers who are not much conversant in Asiatic knowledge, will be somewhat better prepared, from the sketch here given, to follow us in the examination of Colonel Kirkpatrick's book. 'The cursory observations' which it contains, (we are told in the preface,) were written 'expressly, if not solely, for the information of the Bengal Government, and of the Court of Directors, and certainly

certainly with no view to future publication. It was not indeed till ten years after, on the writer's return to England, that after declining to undertake the task himself, he consented, at the instance of some private friends, that the manuscript should be put into the hands of a literary gentleman, for the purpose of its being properly prepared to meet the public eye.' p. 12.

It seems, however, that as a subsequent mission to Nepaul had taken place, the 'literary gentleman' waited, in the hope of 'engrafting' some new, and 'probably more correct information,' (we suppose from Dr. Buchanan's account,) on the manuscript of Colonel Kirkpatrick; but in this expectation he was disappointed, and his death put a stop to the intended publication. The present publisher then endeavoured to engage the original writer of the observations to revise the manuscript, and to give it the form which it was to have received from the literary gentleman before alluded to. All his endeavours, however, were fruitless, and he therefore resolved to publish it in its original shape, without any other alteration than that of dividing it into chapters.

We cannot help thinking that Colonel Kirkpatrick did exceedingly wrong, in the first instance, in consenting to have his MS. 'prepared for publication' by any 'literary gentleman' whatever. To those who read for information, a simple statement of facts, and an accurate description of objects, are the best recommendations. In works of this kind the dress of truth should be plain and unadorned. On this ground, we rejoice that the narrative of Colonel Kirkpatrick did not pass through the refining furnace of Mr. Lawrence Dundas Campbell, the 'literary gentleman' in question. The author was right, however, in refusing to mould his materials into a new shape after a lapse of eighteen years. In works of taste and imagination 'second thoughts' may sometimes be adopted with advantage; but the visible objects of nature and art can be delineated only with fidelity while passing immediately before the senses, when the observations and reflections arising out of them are also most likely to be just. Time seldom fails to give to the recollection of objects a new shape, a fresh colouring, and a false proportion. We are disposed therefore to forgive the publisher the little deception already noticed, since he has now offered to the world the genuine narrative, as it passed out of the hands of Colonel Kirkpatrick.

It would afford but little amusement were we to follow our traveller in his detail of bad roads, through swamps and forests, along the beds of rivers, over rocks and mountains and 'frightful precipices;' or to transcribe the long and unintelligible names of heights, forts, passes, &c. which, however useful in a military or political

point of view, can excite no interest in the general reader. We prefer rather to glean from his work as concise an account as it will admit, *first*, of Nepaul and its natural products; *secondly*, of the several classes, occupations, and conditions of its inhabitants; and *thirdly*, of the government, with its civil, religious, and military institutions.

1°. The Bhâgmuttery river, at the small town of Munniary, separates the province of Bengal from the territory of Nepaul. From this town to Catmandu, the horizontal distance, on Colonel Kirkpatrick's map, is about sixty-six miles, due north; and the nearest road distance at least one hundred. The country for the first ten miles is pretty open, but not much cultivated. Two or three miserable hamlets only occurred in this part of the route; but the ruins of an ancient and extensive city, called Semroun, and of a very considerable tank, sufficiently indicated that this district had once been in a more flourishing state. The Bharaghurty town is a mean place, containing from thirty to forty huts, with a wretched fort. It was here that the progress of Captain Kinloch's detachment was arrested, in 1769.

The next ten miles were chiefly through a magnificent forest, containing a great variety of useful timber, particularly the Saul, the Sissoo, the Setti-saul, and many others whose trivial names would convey but little information. This level tract of country is the Turyani mentioned by Guiseppe, the atmosphere of which subjects its few inhabitants to the *gul* or jungle fever, a malady said by Colonel Kirkpatrick to resemble the *malaria* of Switzerland. There is not perhaps a more fertile spot in all Hindostan than this belt of forests and swamps; but the want of population leaves it a neglected waste. Those who are doomed to reside upon it are chiefly employed in catching elephants, numbers of which are annually sent to the valley of Nepaul to be disposed of by the Rajah in presents, or in commutation of occasional services and pecuniary demands. These animals are caught by nooses thrown over their necks by a man seated on a decoy elephant. It is obvious that young ones only can be taken by this method. Colonel Kirkpatrick is of opinion that the Turyani might be turned to much better account.

Its extensive forests might be made to supply with valuable timber, not only the countries washed by the Ganges, but even our other settlements in India. The pines of the Bechiacori, and the Saul-trees, both of that and the Jhurjoory forests, are not perhaps surpassed in any other part of the world, either for straightness or dimensions, or probably for strength or durability. Besides timber for masts and yards, we could draw from hence whatever supplies of pitch, tar, and turpentine, we required. Neither the tar of America, nor the pine spars from thence,  
would



would appear to be in much estimation in India, though, for want of better, I suppose, we take off, it is said, from the American traders considerable quantities of both at high prices.' p. 43.

Now, we must confess, it does appear to us not a little mysterious why the Americans should meet with this extraordinary encouragement to dispose of their cargoes in our own territories, abounding as they do with lumber of a much superior kind, and surrounded by others possessed of similar advantages. The Ghauts on the western side of the peninsula, as well as the great belt of forests which runs across it, from the source of the Indus to the borders of China, are filled with teak and other valuable timber, well suited for all naval purposes. The Saul affords the finest spars in the world, their stems running generally to one hundred feet without a branch, and in girth from eight to ten feet. The Sulla pine, which is most abundant upon all the heights immediately behind these forests, is probably more productive of resinous matter than any known species of this genus. 'The turpentine,' says Colonel Kirkpatrick, 'adhering to those parts of the trees, in which incisions had been made, exactly resembled icicles, not only in transparency and colour, but also in its crystallized figure.' p. 109.—It may be added, that the branches of the rivers which pass through these forests, all unite in the Ganges, and that most of them are navigable during the rainy season; the produce might therefore easily be conveyed to Calcutta by water carriage. The common hemp, the *cannabis sativa*, is here met with growing spontaneously, as it does, in fact, in every part of the peninsula; but its fibre not being superior, if indeed equal, to that of the *croalaria juncea*, which admits of easier cultivation and management, the latter is preferred for cordage and canvas. Both of these articles are capable of being produced in any quantity, and of a quality equal at least to those manufactured in Europe from the best Riga hemp. We are warranted in asserting that, at the ports on the Malabar coast, any quantity of clean dressed hemp can be delivered as cheap as in the ports of Russia, notwithstanding the Company's restrictions; and, we will venture to add, that it might be done at one half of the price, if these restrictions were removed, and due encouragement given to the native cultivators. The private merchant, however, is prohibited from holding out to the farmers any such encouragement. The charms of monopoly, the terrors of colonization, and not improbably private interests, have hitherto unhappily prejudiced the Court of Directors against the attempts of individuals to increase the cultivation of this most important article of consumption in the navy, upon the regular supply of which the safety of the empire may in some measure be said to depend. It is nearly the same with regard to most of the internal

products of India; and thus ~~are~~ the inexhaustible resources of the finest country on the face of the globe rendered of little or no avail to the possessors. It is this, among a thousand other instances that might be adduced, which loudly calls for some modification at least of the terms on which the Company hold their exclusive privilege.

If, however, these lords of the soil have done little for the general interests of the mother country, we are far from denying them the merit of having very materially bettered the condition of the natives of Hindostan. By the active and judicious interference of their servants, the unnatural customs of women burning themselves on the funeral pile of their husbands, of parents murdering their own children, of zealots disfiguring and distorting their bodies, have nearly been abolished. By the permanent settlement of the revenue, by which the sum to be drawn from the respective provinces is fixed, and by the recognition of a proprietary right in the landholder, encouragement has been held out for the accumulation of private property, and a stimulus afforded to call into activity the genius and industry of the natives. By the conquest of the country, gained it is true at a great expense of blood and treasure, but fairly and honourably gained from the grasp of invaders and usurpers, thirty millions of people, at the lowest estimation, have been relieved from the galling yoke of Mahomedan despotism: but a senseless religion, and a degrading distinction of cast, still continue, by their baneful influence, to crush the genius and enfeeble the best faculties of the human mind. In eradicating these, the Company's servants have yet made little or no progress. Equally unsuccessful have they been in the promotion of Christian knowledge among a people who appear, from their habits and natural disposition, so eminently qualified to receive it. We have abundant proof that this most desirable object is not to be effected by a few solitary missionaries, who are neglected and discountenanced by the ruling powers, and, for that very reason, regarded by the Hindoos as the Sudras or even Pariars of Europe. The Hindoo, untutored in every thing but the superstitions of the Brahmins, has no means of forming a judgment beyond what example affords him; and the influence of example on this point, we are sorry to say, is totally wanting. In vain does he look for any 'outward and visible sign' of religion among those by whom he is governed.—But we quit this painful subject, and return to the work before us.

On leaving the forest, the road lay along the bank of a river as far as the pass of the Cheriaghbaté hills, when the dry bed of the Sukté served as a path as far almost as the highest summit, which, by the indication of the barometer, was about 1,500 feet. Two villages only occurred in the distance of twenty miles, those of  
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Muckwanpore and Hettowra, the latter much the largest, yet containing only fifty or sixty miserable houses. Here the mountains become so steep and rugged, that all sorts of merchandize must be transported on the shoulders of the hill-porters, the rate of whose labour is regulated by the government. The saul, sissou, and simul trees abound in the hills about Hettowra; but there are not many pines. The mineral contents of these hills are various, and some of the ores indicate the presence of iron, copper, and other metals. We know how easy it is to communicate the magnetic virtue to iron; but we must be allowed to doubt the efficacy of Colonel Kirkpatrick's receipt for making magnets. 'Among others was a stone, which appeared to be an ordinary iron ore, but of which I was told they made a magnet, by wrapping it up in a fresh buffaloe hide, and depositing it, in this state, for a certain time in the earth.' p. 45.

From Hettowra to Dhoka-phede, our travellers crossed the Rapti river no less than twenty-four times in twelve miles. 'The perpetual roaring occasioned by the impetuous course of this stream over its rocky bed, adds wonderfully to the effect of the wild and picturesque scenery that adorns its lofty banks.' The hills which confine it are represented as being well clothed with trees. The height of Dhoka-phede is about 3,000 feet. At the small village of Cheesapany is a spring, the water of which was so cold as to sink the mercury in the thermometer from 67° to 48°. On the summit of the mountain of the same name is an insignificant fort, at the height of about 5,300 feet. The peaks rising out of this mountain are often covered with snow for a fortnight together. From one of these, says Colonel Kirkpatrick,

'The mountains of Himmaleh suddenly burst upon the view, rearing their numerous and magnificent peaks eternally covered with snow, to a sublime height, and so arresting the eye as to render it for some time inattentive to the beautiful landscape immediately below it, and in which Mount Chanderaghiri, and the valley of Chitling, with its meandering stream, form the most prominent objects.' p. 57.

The town of Tambel-Kan, once flourishing and populous on account of the rich copper-mines in its neighbourhood, is now a miserable hamlet; but the Ekdunta hill exhibited a view of scattered cottages, some on the summits, some on the sides, and others in the bottoms of the enclosing heights, that was pleasing and picturesque. The fields were laid out, on the sloping sides of the hills, in terraces or steps for the convenience of irrigation. At the bottom of the valley is situated Chitlong, an inconsiderable place, but the first which wore the appearance of a town in the Nepaul territories. In this valley, on the night of the 27th February, the

mercury

mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer fell to 29°, and on the following morning the waters were frozen to a considerable thickness.

The height of the Chanderaghiri, or Mountain of the Moon, which separates Chitlong from Nepaul, is estimated at 6,000 feet above the level of the sea.

From the summit of Chanderaghiri there is a most commanding prospect, the eye, from hence, not only expatiating on the waving valley of Nepaul, beautifully and thickly dotted with villages, and abundantly chequered with rich fields, fertilized by numerous meandering streams, but also embracing on every side a wide expanse of charmingly diversified country. It is the landscape in front, however, that here most powerfully attracts the attention; the scenery, in this direction, gradually rising to an amphitheatre, and successively exhibiting to the delighted view the cities and numberless temples of the valley below; the stupendous mountain of Shecoopoori, the still super-towering Jibibia, clothed to its snow-capped peak with pendulous forests, and finally, the gigantic Himmaleh, forming the majestic back ground of this wonderful and sublime picture.' p. 69.

As our travellers approached the valley of Nepaul, the villages were more frequent; those that were scattered over the more mountainous parts of the track, owing to their romantic situation, 'constituted most agreeable prospects when seen from a distance; but on a nearer view the delusion vanished, being but too often succeeded by a picture, in which poverty and squalidness formed the most prominent figure.' p. 71.

The valley of Nepaul is described by Colonel Kirkpatrick as being from 40 to 50 miles only in circuit. By Father Guiseppe it is reckoned at 200 miles, and Dr. Buchanan calls it an immense plain. We think, therefore, that as, during the 'single week' in which the Colonel resided in Nepaul, 'all the mountains which encircle it, and almost every one of the numerous villages with which it is dotted, were perpetually shrouded either by clouds or a thick mist,' his topography must necessarily be very faulty. The valley, he tells us, is of an oval figure, surrounded by stupendous mountains, the highest of which, that on the north, is about 4,500, and that on the south 4,000 feet above the plain of Catmandu. From the former take their rise the Bhagmutty and Bismutty rivers, which meander through the valley, collecting in their courses to the southward, numberless little streams that trickle from the surrounding hills.

'Katmandu, the residence of the Rajah, stands on the east bank of the Bishamutty, along which it stretches in length about a mile; its breadth is inconsiderable, no where exceeding half, and seldom extending beyond a quarter of a mile, its figure being said by the natives to resemble the Kobra, or scimitar of Daiby. The entrance to it from the westward, near which extremity of the valley it is situated, is by two slight bridges thrown

over

over the Bishnamutty, one of them at the north, the other near the south end of the town. The name is said to be derived from its numerous wooden temples, which are indeed, among the most striking objects it offers to the eye. These edifices are not confined to the body of the town, but are scattered over its environs, and particularly along the sides of a quadrangular tank or reservoir of water, situated a short way beyond the north-east quarter of the town, and called Rans-pokhra. Besides these Katmandu contains several other temples on a large scale, and constructed of brick, with two, three, and four sloping roofs, diminishing gradually as they ascend, and terminating pretty generally in pinnacles, which, as well as some of the superior roofs, are splendidly gilt, and produce a very picturesque and agreeable effect. The houses are of brick and tile with pitched or pent roofs; towards the street they have frequently enclosed wooden balconies of open curved work, and of a singular fashion, the front-piece instead of rising perpendicularly projecting in a sloping direction towards the eaves of the roof. They are of two, three, and four stories, and almost without a single exception of a mean appearance; even the Rajah's house being but a sorry building, and claiming no particular notice. The streets are excessively narrow, and nearly as filthy as those of Benares.—p. 159.

Colonel Kirkpatrick does not reckon Catmandu, from the space which it occupies, to contain more than 5,000 houses, and a population of 50,000 souls; the subordinate towns within its jurisdiction, which are from 20 to 30, he estimates at 17,000 houses, and 170,000 inhabitants. The city of Patu is said to be a neater town than Catmandu; and Bhatgung to be superior to either of them, though less considerable in point of size; its 'palace and buildings are of more striking appearance, and its streets, if not much wider, are at all events much cleaner than those of the metropolis.' The town of Cirtipour is represented as very considerable. It was the reduction of this place which caused so much trouble to the Ghorka Rajah, that, in resentment, he mutilated, as we have seen, the faces of the inhabitants. 'We came to the knowledge of this fact,' says Colonel Kirkpatrick, 'in consequence of observing among the porters, a remarkable number of noseless men.' We should have thought, that the 'knowledge of this fact' must have been familiar to the Colonel; the details of it having been published, some years before his mission, in the Transactions of that Society of which he was then a member.

The whole population of the valley is stated vaguely at half a million. The latitude of the northern part of it is computed at 27° 30' North. Major Rennell estimates that of Catmandu, which we presume is meant as the northern part, at 28° 6' North. The colonel indeed frankly confesses that, not understanding the management of the quadrant, the results of his computations were not considered as entitled to much confidence. Though the height of

of the valley is calculated at 4000 feet above the level of the sea, and that of the surrounding mountains at 8000, yet the mercury in the thermometer once rose to  $87^{\circ}$ , and the usual height was from  $81^{\circ}$  to  $84^{\circ}$  in the middle of the day. A little after sunrise, it was generally from  $50^{\circ}$  to  $54^{\circ}$ ; at nine in the evening it fluctuated from  $64^{\circ}$  to  $66^{\circ}$ ; the mean temperature was  $67^{\circ}$ . 'The climate,' he says, 'may be compared with that of the south of Europe; sometimes a sprinkling of snow, and now and then a hoar frost covers the ground. When the northern, or Himmalayan, blast blows, which is but seldom, it is severe and destructive. The inhabitants have the means of varying the climate, by ascending the heights, from a heat equal to that of Bengal, to the cold of Russia. The rains set in about the middle of April and break up in October, during which time the valley is occasionally inundated. The Hindoo records concerning the Himmalayan mountains, represent the valley of Nepaul as having been originally a great lake; and in corroboration of such an opinion, Colonel Kirkpatrick thinks that all the arguments of Major Rennell, to prove that this was the case with regard to the valley of Cashmir, apply with conclusive force to the valley of Nepaul. Could we, indeed, for a moment, conceive the grand breach in the southern mountains to be choked up, through which the united streams of Nepaul rush upon the plains of Hindostan, the valley must very speedily assume the appearance of a magnificent lake.'

The peach, the raspberry, strawberry, walnut, and mulberry, are among the spontaneous productions of the valley, and surrounding hills. They have oranges 'superior to those of Silket, and probably not to be surpassed by any in the world.' The guavas are good, pine-apples not bad, ananas indifferent. Rice is much cultivated; it is reaped in November, and a wheat or barley crop succeeds, which is ready for cutting in April. A species of dry rice is cultivated on terraces cut out on the sides of the hills, which grows as high up as the line of snow, and which Colonel Kirkpatrick seems to think might be introduced into England with advantage. They have turnips, cabbages, and peas, but all of them indifferent; other vegetables good. The quercus ilex is as common a tree in Nepaul as in Italy, and the cassia lignea, which produces an inferior kind of cinnamon, grows abundantly on the sides of the hills.

The cattle are not much larger than those of the plains of Hindostan, but are sleek and plump. The Yak of Tartary, with its beautiful tail, known in India by the name of Chowri, and the Changra or Shawl-goat of Cashmir, are also natives of Nepaul. The larger kind of sheep are used as beasts of burthen, principally in bringing salt from Bootan, each animal carrying about forty pounds weight; a smaller kind produces a fine fleece.

Nepaul



Nepaul was long considered as the Eldorado of India, and supposed to abound with rich gold mines, which however does not seem to be the case. The truth is, that the Nepaulese were the coiners of Thibetian gold, which was not allowed to pass into Hindostan in the shape of bullion. They have mines of copper in several districts, from which India was once supplied; but of late years European copper, though of no better quality, has, by its cheapness, driven that of Nepaul out of the market. Their iron is not to be surpassed. They have plenty of marble and other stone for building, also good limestone and slate; but they prefer brick to stone, mud to lime, and tiles to slate.

2°. Two distinct races of men, with different languages and religion, inhabit Nepaul. The first, or most numerous race, consists chiefly of the two superior classes of Hindoos, the Brahmins and the Chatriyas; the other is distinguished by the name of Newars. The former compose the army, engross all situations of trust, and possess the greatest share of the landed property. The difference in manners and customs from their brethren in Hindostan is scarcely discernable, except, perhaps, by a simplicity of character arising from their sequestered situation.

'The simplicity which distinguishes the inhabitants of this rugged region is manifested no less in the superior than the lower ranks of people; appears in all their modes of life, whether public or domestic, little of ostentation or parade ever entering into either, and is very generally accompanied by an innocence and suavity of deportment, by an ease and frankness in conversation, and, I am disposed to think too, by an integrity of conduct not so commonly to be met with among their more polished or opulent brethren.' p. 185.

This race of men affect to date their settlement in Nepaul from a period not much short of 4000 years, and several pages of Colonel Kirkpatrick's book are employed, unnecessarily we think, in exhibiting a genealogical series of princes, most of whom are stated to have sat on the throne 50 or 60, many 70 or 80, and two of them above 90 years. Such gross absurdities of a people who possess not a single date or era, except what they attempt to make out by retrospective calculation, were surely not worth recording.

The Newars, it seems, do not carry back the date of their settlement more than 900 years. They are supposed by Colonel Kirkpatrick to be divided into several casts or orders, most of which derive their origin, 'like those among the more ancient Hindoos, from a primitive classification according to trades and occupations.' This statement is not correct; the Hindoo casts are not derived from 'trades and occupations.' In the Institutes of Menu, and in all the ancient writers, they are distinguished; first, as Brahmins.

mins, who pray and instruct; second, as Cshatriyas, who fight and govern; third, as Vaiyas, who till the ground and trade; and fourth as Sudras, who labour and serve. The subdivision of casts necessarily arose from the intermixture of these four original classes; but the assigning of particular trades and occupations to each, the number of which is reckoned by some at forty and by others at more than fifty, may be considered among those absurd refinements which characterize all the institutions of the Brahmins. This class has not forgotten to reserve to itself many exclusive advantages. A Brahmin may become a soldier, an agriculturist, a day labourer, or even a serving man; but a Rajah of the Cshatriya cast can never become a Brahmin. The Newars, however, we are pretty certain, are not divided into casts or classes. Among the Booteas, Captain Turner assures us, there is no such distinction; and the Booteas and Newars are unquestionably the same people. Except indeed in the partial adoption of Hindoo superstitions and religious absurdities, they differ altogether from the natives of Hindostan. They are thus described by Colonel Kirkpatrick:

‘They are in general of a middle size, with broad shoulders and chest, very stout limbs, round and rather flat faces, small eyes, low and somewhat spreading noses, and, finally, open and cheerful countenances, yet I cannot agree with those who affirm that there is in the general physiognomy of these people, any striking resemblance to the Chinese features.’ p. 187.

Again:

‘The illicit progeny of a Newar female and a Chetree (Cshatriya) might almost be taken for Malays; though, perhaps, the faces both of Bajoo Sheer and Rodur Beer (who are the issue of Rajepoots, by Newar women) approach still nearer to the Tartar or Chinese.’ p. 187.

Now we are quite certain, whatever doubts the Colonel might have, that the Newars are Chinese. Like these people they are peaceable and timid in a remarkable degree. The Hindoo mountaineers have so despicable an opinion of their courage, that they will not admit them into the army. They are described as excellent agriculturists, and, like the Chinese, they cultivate the sides of the hills in a succession of terraces, leading the water from step to step precisely by the same contrivances. They almost exclusively execute all the arts and manufactures known in Nepaul. They are masons and carpenters, and their buildings, with large overshadowing and curved roofs, are precisely Chinese. Their temples, or pyramidal pagodas with roof above roof, and bells suspended from the projecting corners, cannot be mistaken; and if the print of Catmandu, which embellishes the Colonel’s description, has not been composed from some of the numerous prints in Nieuwhoff’s embassy to China, it bears at least a very strong resemblance to some of the cities

cities

cities delineated in that work. The Newars are the mountain porters, and their mechanical contrivances are similar to those of the Chinese. They weave coarse cotton cloths, work well in copper, brass and iron; gild remarkably well; make paper from the Seidburroo; (probably the bamboo;) distil an ardent spirit from rice and other grain, and brew a fermented liquor from wheat, which is chiefly used by the Newar peasantry.

It would have been gratifying to most readers had the Colonel given some farther information respecting this people, instead of announcing a determination to 'reserve a full account of their history, religion, government, customs and manners, for a future period.' Eighteen years have now elapsed and that period has not yet arrived. If however any doubt could be entertained of their origin, the narrative of Captain Turner respecting the Bootcas, is quite decisive. From this intelligent author, we learn that these mountaineers have broad faces, high cheek bones, small black eyes with long pointed corners, as though stretched and extended by artificial means, with little beard, and complexion of a yellowish tinge; that they use chop-sticks at their meals, and serve up tea in the manner of the Chinese; that the dress of the soldiers, their arms and accoutrements are the same; that they wear the dragon in the flag, and make nine prostrations before the sovereign; that they are very superstitious; and consult the priests before they undertake any important concern; that their books are printed from blocks of wood; in fine, that they are to all intents and purposes of the same stock with the Chinese.

We are pretty certain that a very early communication subsisted between China and Thibet, at least so early as the first century of the Christian era, when Boudhism was introduced into China. About the middle of the eighth century, the Emperor Hiuen-tsong reduced the King of Thibet and all the intervening Tartar tribes to a state of vassalage; but he bestowed on him at the same time a princess of the blood in marriage. The Thibetian ambassador, among other favours, requested a copy of the four ancient books of China, which was immediately granted; but the librarian, whose mind was less enlightened than that of his master, remonstrated against the measure, and asked if he meant to put arms into the hands of barbarians, who might afterwards turn them against himself. The emperor however was persuaded that the study of these books would convey to them lessons of wisdom and virtue, and thus promote their civilization.

In fact, the Chinese and Tartars have obviously one common origin, which is totally distinct from that of the Hindoos, Persians, and Arabs: but whether the Chinese mounted from their plains to those elevated regions which, rising on all sides, have been compared

pared to the boss of a shield; or, whether the mountaineers descended into the temperate climate and fertile plains of China by the courses of the numerous rivers which flow towards it from every point, is a question that would require too much time to discuss. It is certain however that these central and elevated regions of Asia, which we call Tartary, have, from the earliest period of history, been characterized (with what truth we shall not now stop to inquire) as abundantly prolific in the human species. 'They have been called,' says Sir William Jones, 'as various images have presented themselves to various fancies, the great hive of the northern swarms, the foundery of the human race, the cradle of our species,' &c. And if, as history informs us, they could pour such vast legions over the immense mountains and deserts, which separated them from the fertile regions of the west, with still more facility might they descend upon the neighbouring plains of China. But it was not so easy for them to pass the chain of the Himalayan mountains, and penetrate into the peninsula of Hindostan. Excepting that part of it below Thibet, this snowy ridge presents an almost insuperable barrier between India and Tartary; and this circumstance alone will satisfactorily account for the very few Tartars residing in Hindostan, and the still fewer of Hindoo extraction to be met with in the wilds of Tartary. It is not difficult however to explain how so great a number of Brahmins and Chatriyas are found among the Newars.—It is well known that every branch of the Ganges is sacred in the eyes of the Hindoos; and that those particular spots, where a confluence of two branches takes place, or where the united streams rush through the mountains, are held in the utmost degree of veneration. The more difficult such places are to be approached, the more meritorious is the pilgrimage to them, and the more numerous the votaries. Some idea may be formed of the number of fanatics who frequent these consecrated scenes, from Captain Hardwicke's interesting narrative of a journey to Sirinagur, in the 6th volume of the Asiatic Researches. The *Mela* or fair is an annual assemblage of Hindoos for the purpose of bathing. 'The multitude,' he observes, 'collected on this occasion, may, with moderation, be computed at two and a half millions of souls;' and this extraordinary number does not appear to be mentioned on loose grounds; for as each family pays a small sum, a register is kept of the collection. It appears also that although the performance of a religious duty is the primary object, yet many avail themselves of the occasion to transact business and carry on an extensive commerce. The multitude of men, women, and children, who flock together from distant countries, on foot, on horseback, and in covered carts, can scarcely be, all of them, expected

expected to return. Some form connections on the spot, others have not funds to carry them back, and many of the mountaineers accompany their visitors to the plains. Such an intercourse must necessarily produce a partial interchange of language. This is sufficient to account for that part of the Hindoo dialects which cannot be traced to the Sanscrit idiom, and which Sir William Jones conjectured to have been used in Hindostan before the conquest of that country by the Brahmins. This supposition, however, is gratuitous, for nothing is recorded in history of any such conquest. We are inclined to think that those words in the language, which are not reducible to the Sanscrit, will be found to be a mixture of Tartar and Chinese.

The condition of the peasantry and the lower class of people is pretty nearly alike under all the governments of the eastern world, where little regard is paid either to civil or natural rights, and consequently little security can be enjoyed either of person or property. The peasantry and porters of Nepaul are dragged from their houses by the officers of government, to accommodate those who travel on the public service; they therefore fly from the villages situated on the direct roads, to avoid this oppression, just as in China, where the same practice prevails. Where the tenant engages to perform this service for the proprietor of the land which he rents, there is no hardship in the discharge of the obligation; but it frequently happens that, while executing this service for his landlord, he is snatched away by a military officer, to drag over the mountains the baggage of some public functionary or foreign ambassador.

In the very best parts of the route, our travellers found it exceedingly difficult to procure a single day's provisions for the party, or even a little milk or honey for themselves, though both appeared to be plentiful. The hand of power was always necessary to effect this; hence Colonel Kirkpatrick concludes that 'the people are content to obtain from the earth support only for themselves,' and that the supplies he received from them were 'at the expence of exposing them more or less to real inconvenience.' In fact, only the least productive lands, and such as are situated towards the summits of the mountains, are held by the actual cultivators, and these upon the same hard conditions which are exacted on the more fertile plains: half of the produce is paid to the proprietor, who is besides furnished by the tenant with every supply of domestic expenditure, in kind. The lands of the Brahmins are of the first quality, saleable and hereditary, though forfeitable for certain offences. The only rent paid by this favoured class is their prayers; though they find it necessary to propitiate every new Rajah with something more substantial.

Some few of the Newars also hold saleable and hereditary lands, but liable to fines on the accession of a new sovereign. They pay besides a tax to the state, according to the number of ploughs or spades employed, and not according to the amount of the produce. The peasantry are divided into four classes, the *Owal*, *Doem*, *Seoom*, and *Chaurem*, which are Persian terms, signifying first, second, third, and fourth. The first possess five ploughs and upwards; the second from one to five; the third have none, but command a certain number of labourers; and the fourth are mere labouring men. The Colonel confesses his inability to give a satisfactory account of the nature of tenures in Nepaul; but the following passage is a summary of the intelligence which he procured, and is probably pretty near the truth.

'The sovereign is deemed to be originally the absolute proprietor of all lands, nor is there any tenure under which they can be enjoyed permanently, or considered as hereditary possessions, except the few hereafter particularized. Even the first subject of the state, whether as to birth or office, has, generally speaking, but a temporary and precarious interest in the lands which he holds, being liable, at every Purjunni, or grand council, (which is for the most part annual, and assembled during the months of May and June,) to be deprived of them altogether; to have them commuted for a pecuniary stipend, or to have them exchanged for others. This council is composed of the principal ministers of government, and of such other persons as the prince or regent thinks proper to invite to it; and its business is to examine into the conduct of all the public officers during the preceding year, to degrade, punish, and reward them according to their merits, and to bestow governments, military commands, and jaghire lands for the ensuing year, in all which it is the policy of this Court to make frequent changes, with the view of preventing local attachments, and the dangerous effects of long confirmed local authority; of accustoming its subjects to serve indifferently in all parts, and of keeping its dependents always in a state fluctuating between hope and fear; imitating herein the practice of the court of Delhi, during the most vigorous period of the Mogul monarchy.'—p. 87.

Such practices, which, we believe, are not confined to Delhi or Nepaul, but are common to all the oriental courts, not excepting that of the enlightened empire of China, are not likely to be associated with any thing partaking of 'vigour;' on the contrary they are calculated to benumb the faculties of the mind, and to reduce the human race to a state of debasement very little removed from that of the ourang-outang. It is impossible, as the actual state of things has proved, for the arts and sciences, the comforts or conveniencies of social life, to exist where despotism like this has established its sway. Man has here no inducement to exert the powers of mind or body. Why, indeed, should he



he take thought for the morrow, when he knows that the grain which he sows may be reaped by another? since it appears, from Colonel Kirkpatrick's information, that the holder of a tenure is removed, not unfrequently, 'in the moment that he is about to enjoy the harvest of his labour.'—p. 55.

The food of the peasantry, and indeed of the bulk of the people, appears to be extremely simple, consisting chiefly of milk, honey, rice, fruits, and vegetables. Animal food and spiritous liquors are prohibited; but in lieu of the latter, the cherris, an extract from the common hemp, known in India by the name of bang, is resorted to for producing a species of calm illusion devoid of care, and unmixed with the irritation and subsequent languor which result from the use of opium, wine, or spirits. From all these the Brahmin religiously abstains; but he has no scruple to take the 'sweet oblivious antidote' which the flower buds and leaflets of the *cannabis sativa* are capable of affording, when bruised and put into a little milk.

The Newar peasantry are represented as a robust and healthy race, though in some of the vallies they are subject to those swellings in the throat which prevail more or less in all mountainous situations. Some of the natives attribute them to a peculiar kind of insect, others to a mineral impregnation, and others again gravely believe them to be an effect of imagination in pregnant women, 'who, it seems, are constantly exposed to the disgusting sight presented in the protuberant pouches of the innumerable monkeys with which the adjacent sacred grove of Gorja-sirra swarms.'—p. 174. The prevailing opinion has long ascribed this disorder to the use of snow-water; but if so, it would abound most in regions of perpetual snow, in Lapland, for instance, or Greenland, which is not the case. We conceive that a sudden exposure to a Himalayan blast, after a long series of sultry weather, is a sufficient cause. We know how frequently a glandular swelling in the neck is produced by exposure to cold air rushing into a heated room; and the same cause continually operating in close and heated vallies situated at the feet of snowy mountains, may be supposed to produce similar and permanent effects. We have already noticed the jungle fever to which the cutters of wood and the catchers of elephants are subject in the Turyani district. These are the only two diseases mentioned by Colonel Kirkpatrick as peculiar to the inhabitants of Nepal, in reference to those of Hindostan.

3. We may be certain that all the Asiatic governments are fundamentally despotic, and that the different shades of colour found among them are chiefly owing to the personal character and temporary views of the individual who happens to be placed

on the throne. The despotism of the monarch is however in some degree regulated, and in many instances checked, by certain institutions which time has rendered sacred, and by maxims rooted in the minds of the people. In addition to these popular barriers against the encroachment of despotism, the sovereign of Nepaul is very materially controuled by the active influence of a body of chieftains, known by the name of Thurgurs, of the casts of Brahmins, and Cshatriyas. Their number amounts to thirty-six, and the title and influence are hereditary in their respective families. The only immunity of a personal kind which they are said to enjoy, consists in being exempt from the final jurisdiction of the Purjumi, or annual court of inquisition, already mentioned, and in not being liable to be disgraced or punished, except by a decree of the Rajah. These chiefs appear to be the remains of that division of authority between the Brahmins and Cshatriyas, which, while it placed the sovereignty in the hands of the second order, or military class, procured to the hierarchy the complete dominion over the minds of the people.

'The chiefs of this body,' says Colonel Kirkpatrick, 'appear to possess such a high authority in the state, as renders it nearly impossible for the executive government, in whatever hands that may be, to pursue any measures of an important nature, in opposition to their advice. I have even been assured that the throne of the prince himself would be no longer secure, should the principal Thurgurs concur in thinking that his general conduct tended to endanger the sovereignty, which they profess themselves bound, as far as rests with them, to transmit unimpaired, to the distant posterity of its founder, and the interests of which they do not allow to be determined by the partial views or temporary policy of the ruling individual.'—p. 124.

Colonel Kirkpatrick remarks that it may reasonably be doubted whether the body of the people ever derive the least advantage from the political struggles of these chieftains; and he seems to think that the present Gorkha family, from a solicitude to maintain their situation, have conciliated, by compliances, this body of men, at the expense of a considerable reduction of the sovereign power. That power is administered by thirteen principal officers of state, whose titles and employments are briefly as follows: 1. The Choutra, or prime minister, always a near relation of the Rajah, whose business consists in receiving and examining all communications intended for the sovereign. Besides certain fiefs or jaghires, conferred in virtue of his office, he has a commission on all lands granted to individuals, except those to Thurgurs and military officers. 2. The Kâjees, of whom there are four, are the real men of business, the Dewan of the Mogul government; the details of civil and military affairs pass through their hands: they, too, have a commission in the

the various tenures of land. 3. The Sirdars, or commanders of the army, of whom there are also four: they are paid out of the taxable lands, as are also, 4. The Khurdars, or secretaries of state. 5. The Khupperdar, or clerk of the wardrobe, the jewels, and the kitchen. 6. The Khazunchu, or treasurer. These officers are denominated Bhardars, a term denoting 'bearers of burthens;' the people probably consider them rather as 'imposers of burthens.' The next seven are, 1. The Ticksali, or superintendent of the mint. 2. The Dhurma-Udhikar, or chief criminal judge. 3. The Bicharies, or civil judges who settle all disputes regarding personal property. 4. The Dittha, or superintendent of police. 5. The Juitha-Boora, a Vakeel, employed chiefly in carrying the complimentary messages of the Rajah. 6. The Soubadar, or governors of districts. 7. The Omrahs, or commanders of military posts.

The Dhurma-Shaster, with the general spirit of which Mr. Halhed has made us acquainted, forms the basis of the civil and criminal jurisprudence of Nepaul, as it does of Hindostan in general. Most offences according to this code being punishable by fine, it will easily be conceived how great a latitude for abuse exists in the civil departments of the law. So strongly indeed was the consciousness of these abuses impressed on the mind of Behadur-Shah, the regent of Nepaul, at the time of Colonel Kirkpatrick's mission, that he had intended to apply to the government of Bengal for a code of laws, for the better government of his country.

Of the nature and extent of the military force of Nepaul, Colonel Kirkpatrick seems to have gained very little information. The state of their ordnance he is disposed to consider as contemptible, notwithstanding the attempts to improve it, by the introduction of some European adventurers, 'who appear to have promised much, but to have performed nothing.' The regular forces are clothed in a slovenly manner, some in red, some in blue, and others in green; all armed with muskets, but not very fit for service. They consisted of about 50 or 60 companies, each, on an average, possessing 140 firelocks. These are exclusive of the guards. Neither of them are superior to the rabble 'ordinarily dignified with the title of Sepoys in the service of the generality of the Hindostan powers:' nor would their discipline appear to be much stricter, it being no uncommon practice among the officers to throw aside their military garb, and even to absent themselves without ceremony from their corps, on any temporary disgust; but with all their defects, I am disposed, says the Colonel, to think them on the whole no bad soldiers.—p. 215.

The present war in Europe, as well as the numerous contests

in which we have been engaged in the East; have supplied abundant proof that the making of good soldiers depends more on the character and talents of the officers than on any particular aptitude of the individuals who compose an army; and that a regular system of discipline is more essential than mere constitutional bravery. In point of physical strength the Hindoo ranks, perhaps, the lowest in the scale of human beings; yet such is the tractability of his nature, and such the advantage resulting from strict discipline, that the same Sepoys, led by a Wellesley, were at any time sure of defeating three times the number of their countrymen, forming the 'rabble,' of a Holkar or a Scindeah.

The Omrahs, or commanders of forts, are independent of the civil governors. Their little garrisons are composed of troops chiefly raised and formed by themselves. They are a sort of Militia Colonels who have a considerable rank in the state, and have lands assigned for the support of themselves and their people, who are generally kinamen, and form a kind of clan, which is never dispersed by drafting, but permitted to act together; and when an Omrah is removed from one fort to another, his garrison is invariably removed with him.

The expense of the military establishment of Nepaul is, for the most part, discharged by assignments of land. Sometimes, however, the soldier is paid from the treasury, occasionally from the granary, and sometimes from both. The farms or jaghires granted by government are usually apportioned to the numbers of the families of military officers, and other public servants, and in doing this a particular indulgence is shewn to the widows and orphans of such families.

We agree with Colonel Kirkpatrick that, as the popular religion of Nepaul 'differs in nothing from the Hindooism established in Bengal, excepting so far as the secluded nature of the country may have conduced to preserve it in a state of superior orthodoxy and purity, it would be altogether superfluous to enter into any details concerning it;' but it strikes us, that he is under a considerable mistake, as far as regards its purity, that is to say, its original rites and observances. For instance, the women are not so strict in mounting the funeral pile of their husbands as in Hindostan: for though one of the inferior wives of the Rajah Sing Pertaub, the son of the Ghorkali invader, burned herself with her deceased husband, his principal wife declined the example, deeming it pleasanter to seize the vacant reins, than to accompany her deceased Lord into Paradise. At the temple of Daiby Ghaut, Colonel Kirkpatrick bears testimony, that the Rajah and his court, who are Brahmins, not only immolated a great number of buffaloes, but performed the sacrifice in an unhallowed temple, consecrated

consecrated to Daiby, (Devi,) the goddess *par excellence*, the Maha-mai, or great Mother, to whom the Newars, who are Budhists, offer buffaloes, and feed on the flesh of this animal by a special indulgence. But although they have no scruples with regard to buffaloes, they deem it a sacrilege to approach even the image of a cow, except in a posture of adoration, 'insomuch,' says Colonel Kirkpatrick, 'that a malicious person wishing to suspend the agricultural operations of his neighbour, would be sure to effect his purpose, by placing a stone or wooden figure of a cow in the midst of his field.'—p. 100.

It seems, however, that the Rajah's army, in its late expedition into Thibet, was reduced to such straits as to be compelled to feed on the flesh of the Chouri bullock; on which occasion the Regent contended, that, as the cattle slain for this purpose had no dewlaps, they bore no relation to the sacred bull of the Shaster, and consequently that no transgression against the law had been committed.

'It was somewhat in the same spirit of regulated zeal, that upon certain missionaries offering to instruct him in the most useful branches of mineralogy, and metallurgy, provided he would embrace the Christian faith; he coolly replied, that his rank in the state made it inconvenient for him to accede to the proposed terms; but that he was ready to substitute two or three men who should make as good proselytes as himself. The missionary rejecting this expedient, and the Regent not comprehending, or affecting not to comprehend, why three souls should be of less estimation than one, very gravely inferred that the holy father could only be prevented from accepting so fair a proposal, by the desire of concealing his ignorance of the arts which he had professed himself qualified to teach.'—p. 121.

We are far from being persuaded by any thing which Colonel Kirkpatrick has related, that the religion of Brahma preceded that of Buddh in the valley of Nepaul, or indeed, in any other part of India. By his own account the temple of Sumbhoo-Nath must have been built before the Christian era, when Nepaul was ruled by a race of Thibetians; and indeed the possession of it has always been claimed by the Delai Lama, 'on the ground of its having been a dependency of his spirituality from the earliest times.' He tells us moreover, that at the foot of the steps 'is a colossal image in stone, of the god Boudh, who is considered by some to be the law-giver of the Bhootias or Thibetians, and to be the same as the Fo of the Chinese.' Here too he saw the priests of Buddh watching the perpetual lamp, that unextinguishable fire which was the symbol of the divinity among the ancient Persians, and is the type of the immortal soul, which passes through an end-

less succession of Lamas. We are persuaded indeed, that the more the ancient doctrines of Buddh are investigated, the more probable it will appear that Brahma was the sectary, and not Buddh, whose tenets have in fact been more widely spread over the face of the earth, than those of any other religion ancient or modern. The idea of one great ruler surrounded by a number of inferior agents to execute his will, has been prevalent for ages in every corner of the widely extended regions of Tartary. This is the basis of Boudhism, which exists under various modifications, from the Icy Sea to the Persian Gulph, and from the shores of the Caspian to the farthest verge of the Asiatic islands. The Buddh of Hindostan, the Pout of Thibet and Siam, the Godama of the Birmans, the Fo of China, the But of Japan, the But of the Cochinchinese, and the Bod of the Arabians, are unquestionably all meant for the same person. Sir William Jones, Mr. Chambers and others were of opinion, that even Odin or Woden was synonymous with Buddh. To this it has been objected, that no two characters would differ more, the one being distinguished by mildness and benevolence, the other by qualities of an opposite nature. It should be remembered, however, that the attributes ascribed to the Deity are likely to take their original colouring from the character of the votary; and we, therefore, do not think it very improbable that the same object of adoration which, among the pastoral natives of Tartary, whose subsistence depended on the preservation of animal life, was represented as a mild and benevolent being, should, among the hunters and fishers of Scandinavia, whose existence depended on the destruction of animal life, be represented under a character directly the reverse. We consider, however, the argument that has been advanced to prove their identity, from Wednesday being Buddh's day in all the eastern nations who use the hebdomadal division of time, as inconclusive and exceedingly puerile.

We know that, at the present day, Boudists exist in various parts of Siberia, and near the shores of the Caspian Sea. In the account given by Du Halde of the journey of the two Lamas, who were sent about the year 1712, by Kaung-Shee, the Emperor of China, in search of the source of the Gauges, it is observed that there was at Lassa, in Thibet, a Tartarian princess with her son, who dwelt to the north of the Caspian Sea, between Astracan, Saracot, and the river Jauk; and that a surprising multitude of strangers undertook long and painful journeys from the most distant countries, to offer their adoration to the Grand Lama, and to receive his blessing.

We agree then entirely with Doctor Buchanman, that even so

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late as the birth of Christ, the governing power on the banks of the Ganges, was of the sect of Buddh, and that since this period the Brahmins have accomplished the change of the national religion. We are also persuaded, that however idle and ridiculous the legends and notions of the worshippers of Bouddha may be, they have been in a great measure adopted by the Brahmins; but with all their defects monstrously aggravated: Rajahs and heroes have been converted into gods, and impossibilities heaped on improbabilities.'

Colonel Kirkpatrick informs us, that at Nepal he was fortunate enough to obtain a copy of that rare and valuable manuscript, the Boudh Pouran; and that he is not without the hope of being able 'at no very remote period, not only to explain at large the superstitious dogmas, rites, and ceremonies of the Newars; but also to be instrumental, at least, in throwing some light on the Bondhite system of theology, at present so little understood.'—p. 188. This is the second promise which Colonel Kirkpatrick has broken to his readers, which, however, may be the less regretted, as we believe he is no Sanscrit scholar; and a translation of a Purana must be of little value when communicated through the medium of the Persian.

The account which Bernini has given of the multitude of temples in the valley of Nepal, is fully corroborated by Colonel Kirkpatrick, who informs us, that 'there are nearly as many temples as houses, and as many idols as inhabitants.' Twenty of the former of most consideration are named and briefly described; and he enumerates no less than sixteen remarkable yatras or festivals, that are annually celebrated, consisting of processions, ablutions, adorations, and oblations, some of which occupy so much time, that in fact, scarcely a day passes without the public performance of some religious ceremony. They have besides a grand occasional festival which lasts four months. 'It consists in visiting the shrines of all the gods in Nepal, which are said to be two thousand seven hundred and thirty three.'—p. 196.

We are not told what is the ordinary number of priests to each temple or whether they dwell in monastic celibacy, like the Gy-longs in the neighbouring nation of Bootan, where in some places no fewer than four thousand of them passed a life of indolence in religious retirement; where many families considered it as the greatest honour and good fortune to send a boy or two among them to be educated for the priesthood, and where one in every four was compelled to enter the monastic state. Such numbers thus withdrawn from society, and strictly interdicted all intercourse with the other sex, together with those drawn off to serve in the

armies,

armies, cannot fail to act as considerable checks to population. Yet this abstraction of the males would appear to have produced an effect on the state of connubial connection very different from that which might be expected: instead of polygamy, as in India and China, Captain Turner informs us, that polyandry is the common practice, that is to say, one female has many husbands, and frequently associates her fate and fortune with all the brothers of a family. Colonel Kirkpatrick just glances at the same custom.—‘It is remarkable enough,’ he says, ‘that the Newar women may, in fact, have as many husbands as they please, being at liberty to divorce them continually on the slightest pretences.’—p. 187.

Whatever these gentlemen may tell us, we hold it impossible that so monstrous a practice, fraught with so many bad consequences, could possibly exist in any state of society. Both accounts have probably been too hastily adopted from that which was given by a Chinese Mandarin to Kaung-shee, on his return from Thibet, where he mentions an infamous custom prevailing in that country, which allows a woman to have several husbands at one time, without regard to consanguinity, and even to marry all the sons of the same parents. This anecdote has been promulgated by Du Halde, who had no judgment in the selection of his materials, and repeated by Grozier, who, with less excuse, was nearly as credulous as his predecessor. We can readily give credit to the less preposterous custom of a landlord taking the wife of a ryot or peasant, as a pledge for rent, and keeping her till the debt is discharged; since we know, on the best authority, that their more polished neighbours, the Chinese, have found it necessary to enact a prohibitory statute against lending wives and daughters on hire.

With regard to literature, Colonel Kirkpatrick is of opinion, that ‘there is no place in India where a search after ancient and valuable manuscripts in every department of Brahmimical learning, would be more successful than in the valley of Nepaul, and particularly at Bhatgong, which would seem to be the Benares of the Ghorkhali territories.’ He was told that in that city, the library of a private individual contained upwards of fifteen thousand volumes. We entirely concur with him in this opinion, which agrees with one we ventured to give in a former Number, with regard to those Sanscrit works, which had been transferred into the Chinese language, prior to the Mahomedan invasion of Hindostan. If the Hindoos have any thing of value, it must be looked for in the secluded valleys of Nepaul and Boutan, in the upper regions of Thibet, or in the temples of Buddh in the Chinese empire.

The various alphabets of Nepaul, three of which are given by Colonel Kirkpatrick, are evidently modifications of the Devan-

agari

agari character, as the dialects are of the Sanscrit language, with the exception, however, of the Newar, which, though written in an alphabet evidently derived from the Devanagari, and containing several words of Sanscrit origin, appears to be a branch of a very different stem. That stem, we have no doubt, is the original Tartar, from whence the Newars themselves, as well as the Chinese, derive their origin. The favourite pursuit both of Newars and Hindoos, is that of consulting their destiny at the temples. 'Judicial astrology has so deeply and undistinguishedly infected every rank among them, that a stranger might be tempted to conclude that the horoscope and ephemeris determined in most cases the line both of civil and moral conduct, and that the people, in short, were universally directed by their soothsayers.'—p. 220.

It is much to be regretted, that the extreme jealousy of the government of Nepaul, or rather of certain of its officers, prevented Colonel Kirkpatrick from visiting the several cities and towns of the valley of Nepaul. Not one of them, not even Catmandu, we have reason to believe, was he permitted to enter; for, although one of his letters, addressed to Lord Cornwallis, is dated from thence, it is evident from the narrative, that, with more than Chinese caution, he was confined to the temple of Sumbhoo-nath, one mile from Catmandu, during his week's residence in the valley. He could see nothing, therefore, of those wonderful and magnificent temples, or of the royal palace and gardens, of which Guiseppe speaks with such rapture. Among others one object is mentioned by the Jesuit, remarkable enough to excite curiosity. This is a large flat stone, standing upright against one of the walls of the palace, fifteen feet long, and four or five wide, covered with the characters of various languages. 'Some lines,' he says, 'contain the characters of the language of the country; others the characters of Thibet; others Persian, others Greek; besides several of different nations; and in the middle there is a line of Roman characters, which appears in this form AVTOMNEW INTER LHIVERT.' This last inscription must, in all probability, be the work of some of the European missionaries, whose first appearance in Nepaul was about the beginning of the last century. None of them probably contain any thing of importance; yet a fac simile of the stone would be considered as a great curiosity.

The circumstances under which the information now laid before our readers was collected, are sufficient to disarm criticism of its severe character. Our wishes may have led us to expect more; but our disappointment shall not make us so fastidious as to receive with indifference or ingratitude, the few additions which  
Colonel

Colonel Kirkpatrick has made to our former stock of information, concerning the secluded valley of Nepaul.

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ART. III. *Magna Britannia; a concise Topographical Account of the several Counties of Great Britain.* By the Rev. Daniel Lysons, A.M., &c. Rector of Rodmarton, in Gloucestershire, and Samuel Lysons, Esq. F.R.S. and F.A.S. Keeper of his Majesty's Records in the Tower of London. Vol. I.; and Vol. II. Parts 1 and 2. 4to. Cadell and Davies. London. 1810.

AN heroic neglect of the ordinary chances of human life, is not unfrequently the parent of great and persevering undertakings. The conception of a vast plan, by stimulating exertion and calling forth latent powers, will often contribute to its own accomplishment; while in great works, like the present, the necessity of active research, and frequent locomotion, aided by another principle eminently favourable to length of days, namely, gentle engagement of mind, and the gratification of a strong original propensity, will sometimes carry forward the undertakers to the close of their work, vigorous, occupied, and happy.

With such probabilities for and against them, two respectable persons, as nearly allied in taste as in blood, have projected a new Britannia. The southern part of this island, it may however be objected, has already been illustrated with sufficient diligence and exactness. Whatever the stores of ancient learning could pour upon the subject, had been collected and concentrated by Camden, whose original text has served as a nucleus for stratum upon stratum of additional matter, which the industry of successive editors has gathered about it. But of these the last, and incomparably the best, has not succeeded in exhausting the mine; neither are his three ponderous folios without numerous errors, as well as deficiencies, of which the former would have been corrected, and the latter supplied, had the work been completed in his earlier and happier days. It is probably owing to the same cause, that in a work where accuracy, particularly in dates, was of primary importance, so little attention has been paid to the operations of the press. Of the name of Mr. Gough we wish to speak with reverence—he was the father of English antiquaries in his day—he generously patronized rising merit in others—he devoted his own life and ample fortune to the pursuit of antiquities, and he still lives in the affections of many surviving friends. But the Sepulchral Monuments are the proper depositaries of Mr. Gough's reputation; and we

scruple

scruple not to affirm that, after all the discoveries with which he and his predecessors have enriched the *Britannia*, the field is fairly open to future adventurers; and consequently, that the present undertaking is neither unnecessary nor presumptuous. To us, however, who view it without the enthusiasm of authorship, it cannot but appear difficult and perilous. Topography has been carried nearly to perfection in many works of a more local and limited nature than the present; and the expectations, indeed the demands of the public on that, as on almost every subject, are now very different from what they would have been, even in the beginning of the present reign.

We will allow to the respectable compilers of the *Magna Britannia*, (what the generous patronage afforded to such projects will not permit us for a moment to doubt,) extensive correspondence and valuable connections: but are strangers always to expect what the historian of a county, and more especially of a subordinate district, in consequence of domestic and personal interest, can generally command; namely, that family archives shall be opened, and family reserves laid aside?—for every considerable family has some arcana, ‘which would be wooed, and not unsought be won.’ In such cases the pretensions of a distant suitor, whatever may be his general reputation for discretion or fidelity, are seldom regarded. But introductions, it will be said, may be obtained to antiquaries residing on the spot, and *their* abstracts, and more especially *their* inferences from the materials to which they have access, will answer nearly the same purpose. Unfortunately this argument proves either too much or nothing; for if such persons are competent to abstract, arrange, and combine for themselves, this is a reason for their undertaking topographical works in their own name: if otherwise, what becomes of the authority which ought to attach to a great national work, when the matter of which it has been composed is of so dubious a character?

But if adventurers in the situation of our authors, are sometimes exposed to the risque of being lost in darkness, or misled by these wandering luminaries; they are in another part of their career equally in danger of being oppressed by excess of light. For this reason we wait, with some curiosity, to see how Messrs. Lysons will expedite themselves from Cornwall, Leicestershire, and Norfolk, and by what artifice they will avoid tautological repetitions from Borlase, Nichols, and Blomefield. On such ground, what remains to be explored? and from such works, what can without injury be discarded? In the first instance, the experiment will quickly be tried; but we anticipate the result: firmly persuaded that there are few intelligent, and no learned readers who will not prefer the erudition, weighty sense, and strictly local information of Dr. Borlase to the best abridge

abridgement (for, after all, an abridgement it must be) which the compilers of the *Magna Britannia* can pretend to substitute in their place. Continuations for the last forty years (how small a portion of time, and none of antiquity) are all that can be hoped for; and though Blomefield (lately reprinted) is reprinted without additions, and therefore may afford some scope for the introduction of supplementary matter, yet who can add to the antiquities of Leicestershire? Who, without robbing a living author, can transfuse his valuable matter into another work, and who, without robbing the public, can garble and contract it? On the whole, we should wish to see the compilation of an English topographical library made a national concern, in which the sole object should be to leave the great county and other provincial histories untouched, and merely to fill up the chasms. For this end, queries might be circulated, intelligent and learned persons selected in every district to explore remains, report evidences, and if need be, to arrange, abstract, and transmit to a committee in London the result of their discoveries. In the conduct of such a work the clergy of the establishment would be entitled to an active and conspicuous station: Yet highly as we think of their industry and general information, we are far from wishing to limit an undertaking of such extent, and calling for such a variety of powers, to them or to the members of any particular profession. From the radical difference in the nature and constitution of the two establishments, the example of Scotland is no authority for the sister country. We all recollect what an universal spirit of emulation was excited about twenty years ago in the ministers of that church, by the inquiries and exhortations of an individual whose suggestions have not always the fortune to be equally attended to on the south of the Tweed. For this achievement we can almost forgive the philosophical Baronet his mermaid, accept his paper currency, and do every thing to shew our gratitude but adopt his precepts of health and longevity. But no interest, and no exertion could produce twenty-one such volumes as those which contain the statistical account of Scotland, amongst our own clergy. They are a monument of that parity of intellect among a venerable body of men which originates in the genius of a republican, that is a presbyterian establishment.

Among these statements, if few rise to excellence, fewer still are found to sink beneath mediocrity. To account for so much information in men who have no superfluities of income to expend in procuring it, and with respect to tracts, in some instances equal to English counties, we are to consider, not only the great blessing of that establishment, universal residence in their ministers; but also the necessity which lies upon the clergy



to traverse their widely extended parishes in the discharge of their private duties. How wise and happy in such fatiguing excursions, to be able to unite amusement with information, and usefulness with both! With the probable effects of such a requisition, circulated among the clergy of our own church, their diocesans, some of whom have tried the experiment on a narrow scale, are best acquainted. For our own part, we hesitate not to say, that it would in some instances produce accounts far superior to the best in the Scottish collection; in more, attempts which would fall greatly beneath them; and in no inconsiderable number, perhaps, none at all. The truth is, that the scale of ability in the Church of England, keeps pace with the scale of dignities and preferments which it has to offer. Splendid rewards will not indeed produce, but they will attract into the profession splendid abilities; but, from the necessity of the case, both the one and the other will be few in number. *Mediocrists*, for the same reason, will be pretty numerous, while in the lower degrees will always be found a large residuum, who have either no exertion, because they have no hopes, or a slender provision, because they have slender abilities. This proposition depends upon another, which, even in the present imperfect mode of distributing ecclesiastical preferments amongst us, we believe to be true in a very considerable degree; namely, that there still exists a connection between merit and the reward of merit, in the profession of an English clergyman.

But to return to our immediate subject. We are firmly persuaded, that though a long life, united with perseverance, such as these well informed and respectable brothers really possess, may carry them through their comprehensive plan; it will after all be irregular and defective in its execution, and particularly as to the necessity of *cutting down* the great topographical works which already exist; and which will rather obstruct than assist their progress. Whereas a national topographical society, for the purpose of framing a complete topographical library, by inviting into its circle all the curiosity, information, and ability of every profession, in every undescribed or ill described district in the kingdom, would in no great length of time fill up all the void spaces in a collection, toward which, without union and without system, so much has already been done, and at the same time so well. This plan would operate like the connecting gluten in mineralogy: it would combine a great number of heterogeneous, but not irreconcilable particles into one compact and tangible substance. This effect we apprehend the process of Messrs. Lysons will scarcely produce—it will neither embrace nor incorporate with the ponderous masses of topography already existing—nay, in some instances it will fritter and decompose them.

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The counties already traversed by our indefatigable enquirers, are those of Bedford, Berks, Cambridge, and Chester; from which enumeration it will immediately appear that they have adopted an alphabetical arrangement. To this plan, we should suppose, that a regard to their own convenience in making the necessary researches, would have dictated an early objection. But, independently of their own accommodation, which, if the authors think proper to waive, it is not for us to insist upon, the circumstance of contiguity produces many features of resemblance between counties; the subject is shaded off from one to another, and the transition is easy and graceful. But between Norfolk and Northumberland, for example, there is surely no resemblance save in alliteration, and he who has just before saturated his mind with the fertile pastures, the rich downs, and the noble estates of Cheshire, will not feel himself in an instant prepared for the logans and cromlechs, the rocks and stannaries, of Cornwall. The subordinate arrangement, however, must be allowed to be clear and proper, and the information contained, under every particular, at once brief and comprehensive. To prove this position, we will present our readers with Messrs. Lysons' table of particulars for the County of Bedford.

'Ancient inhabitants and government; historical events; ancient and modern divisions of the county; ecclesiastical division; monasteries and hospitals; market and borough towns; population; principal land owners at various periods; and principal extinct families; nobility of the county, and places which have given titles to any rank or branches of the peerage; noblemen's seats; Baronets extinct and existing;' (an article which, in a work where much important matter was struggling for admittance, might, we think, have given place); 'principal gentry and their seats; non-resident families; geographical and geological description of the county; produce; natural history, comprehending, 1st, fossils; 2dly, rare plants; 3dly, mineral waters; 4thly, rivers, &c.; roads; manufactures; antiquities, comprehending, 1st, Roman remains; 2dly, Roman roads and stations; 3dly, church architecture; 4thly, stained glass; 5thly, rood lofts, screens, &c. 6thly, fronts; 7thly, stone stalls and piscinæ; 8thly, ancient tombs; 9thly, monastic remains; 10thly, sites of castles, and castellated mansions; 11thly, camps and earth works; and, lastly, parochial topography,' alphabetically arranged.

Another national work on the same subjects, and relating to the northern part of our island, is now, as almost every reader knows, in a state of equal forwardness with the *Magna Britannia*, and it will be satisfactory to compare the distribution of matter which has been made by the learned author of that work, with the foregoing.

Berwick-

Berwickshire; of the name; of its situation and extent; of its natural objects; of its antiquities; of its establishment as a shire; of its civil history; of its agriculture, manufactures, and trade; of its ecclesiastical history, comprehending, "The Tabular State."

Such are the respective plans of two similar and contemporary works; rivals we must not call them, unless men of ordinary stature can be said to rival a giant. The arrangement, however, of both is equally good; but, in point of simplicity, and purity of composition, the advantage is manifestly on the side of our English antiquaries; while, in genius and erudition, in extent of research and accuracy of reference, the historian of Caledonia far surpasses them.

With few striking excellencies, and, certainly, with fewer faults, the *Magna Britannia*, we think, is likely to become an useful and popular work. It never repels the shallow by its profundity; it never disgusts the real antiquary by blunders and misnomers. It is evidently the product of minds active, industrious, and well informed, not only in their own particular walk, but in general literature. There is nothing which the most fastidious critic would wish to be removed; but from the very nature of the plan there is almost in every parish much to be required, and much of which the absence is to be regretted: there are hints which excite curiosity, and omissions which disappoint it. Who, for instance, that has a genuine taste for the *priez pour sa âme* of the twelfth century, or the *orate pro anima* of the fourteenth, can endure, without extreme impatience and vexation, to be told, that in this church are the 'rich brasses' of one family; in that the 'recumbent statues' of a second; in another, the 'epitaphs' of a third? whereas, in a series of county histories, all these memorials of ancient art might, and indeed would, have been exhibited; and their letter press adorned with the inscriptions in their peculiar characters. It is very true, that in the *Magna Britannia*, we are now and then treated with a good engraving of a church, a tomb, or a sepulchral brass; but they are thinly scattered, and serve rather to excite the appetite for more, than to gratify it by the sparing taste which is afforded. One useful, and by no means easy part of the work is elaborately, and appears to be accurately performed; we mean the descents and transfers of property in more modern times: and here, had the writers been pleased to indulge themselves and their readers with a few reflections as a seasoning to the occasional insipidity of their facts, it might not have been amiss to advert to the extreme facility and frequency with which estates in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, in Buckingham, Berks, and Bedfordshire, have, for the last two centuries, been advertised away, compared with the stability of property in the northern counties. How many, for instance, of the names and

descendants of those who fought at Blore-heath yet remain in Cheshire; while, in Cambridgeshire, a district neither by its situation nor beauties likely to excite any great competition in purchasers, one name only (that of Cotton) remains of the principal families who were returned under the commission of Henry VI!

With respect to the comparative merits of the volumes already published, that of Cambridgeshire is indisputably the best, a distinction for which the authors and their readers are equally indebted to the personal investigations of the present Bishop of Cloyne, when resident in Emanuel College, and of Dr. Charles Mason, of Trinity College, who died rector of Orwell, and Woodwardian Professor, about the year 1770. The account of the University, in which we have detected no errors, but have, as usual, to deplore many omissions, will principally tend to awaken or revive the regret of antiquaries, that no great and authoritative work on so interesting a subject has ever been undertaken under the auspices of that learned body. Will the *Musæ Severiores* of Cambridge never unbend to the pleasing and grateful task of commemorating, from authentic and original records, their founders and benefactors? And can the overflowings of their wealth be turned into a more delightful channel than that of perpetuating, by the graver, countenances which they now revere on board and canvas, and edifices which as yet afford comfort and elegance and devotion to their retirement? We say, 'as yet afford,' for let it not be forgotten, that in the revolutions of human things, neither the one nor the other are immortal; while, in every event, excepting that of total and overwhelming barbarism, the multiplying power of the press will infallibly preserve the resemblance of both when the originals are no more. What would now be given for contemporary histories, and contemporary drawings, of the religious Houses in their perfect state? Crowland was the mother of Cambridge; and what the parent is, the daughter may become. This inattention is the more to be deplored, or, rather, the less to be excused, because the ice is already broken, and the remaining difficulties are principally modern. Mr. Baker, a nonjuring member of St. John's College in the earlier part of the last century, and a name yet venerated on that very account, by those who will not copy after his example, spent a long life, and a genius capable of better things, in making collections, which yet remain, for a rival work (in his hand it would have been a very superior work) to the *Athens Oxonienses*, or to the *Historia et Antiquitates* of the same University by Wood.

With these encouragements to such an undertaking, the succinct, though not inaccurate account of Messrs. Lysons', consisting of fifty-six pages, which, with the exception of some general and very

good

good observations on architecture, professes to inform the world of what deserves to be known of this illustrious seminary, and the ancient town dependent upon it, will certainly oppose a very feeble impediment. Would that no impediment more formidable existed in the incurious spirit of their own institutions! With the same exception, and with the fear of Mr. Bentham before their eyes, our authors prudently dispatch the city of Ely, and its glorious Cathedral, in eight pages: but such an example, the first of any importance which has occurred in their alphabetical career, ought to have instructed them, that elaborate topical works, when they interfere with general and superficial views of a subject, are hinderances instead of helps, and ought, with a respectful reference, to have been wholly declined. Even in these unceremonious days, it is accounted a rudeness to cross the walk of a dignitary in his own cathedral; and we really think, that the merit of having illustrated so fine a subject as Ely in the style of Mr. Bentham, confers a literary dignity entitled to no less attention.

On the whole, considering the laborious work of Messrs. Lysons as a series of volumes for the purpose of reference, and, more especially, as to the successive descents and alienations of property down to the present day, (an article of information on which they appear to have greatly laboured,) we think it entitled to much and general commendation. The arrangement also is clear, and the style perspicuous and unaffected. These are praises which belong to the authors; the defects of the work arise out of the plan itself—perpetual abridgement where detail was loudly called for, and mortifying transitions, from one subject to another, at the moment when interest and anxiety were beginning to be excited. So far, therefore, as the work before us may, by its sweeping progress, have a tendency to check the spirit of more profound and elaborate inquiry on limited subjects, and, more especially, as it may prevent a great national plan for perfecting a body of English topography, we cannot, without offering violence to our own hopes and feelings, be very cordial in wishing for its success. If, however, (which seems probable enough,) it should, after all, turn out that the vigour of particular understandings is not to be deterred from working the mine because others have already scarified the surface; or if the national energies, in an age when the power of combination is fully understood, should still operate to fill up the great chasms which exist in our antiquarian library, with all the industry of private research, and all the splendour of public munificence, we shall willingly applaud our authors for having shed a previous light upon the subject, if no where powerful, yet no where uncertain, if never dwelling long, or strongly thrown, on any, even on the most interesting object, yet calmly progressive in its course, and pleasingly expansive in its diffusion.

ART. IV. *The Principles of Fluxions: designed for the Use of Students in the University.* By William Dealtry, M. A. Professor of Mathematics in the East-India College, and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Royal 8vo. pp. vi. 376. Cambridge, Deighton; London, Rivingtons, 1810.

OF all the inventions which have been at once the fruit and the reward of human genius and industry, that of Fluxions is the most brilliant, whether contemplated as the effort of an exuberant imagination, or with a view to the importance of its applications, and the immensity of the subjects which it embraces. Other mathematical inventions apply each to its individual subject, and cannot be brought to bear upon others: but this is an universal instrument, operating upon a variety of problems which could not be touched by any of the methods of the ancient geometers; and, by the generality of its means, bringing under one point of view theories and sciences which had been previously considered as insulated and independent. By it are investigated the laws which hold together the minutest particles of bodies; by it also are developed the grand principles which regulate the motions, and preserve the harmony of the universe; and the rapturous language in which Halley speaks of Newton's discoveries, applies with singular propriety to this the most sublime production of his genius.

That the honour of an invention so diversified in its applications, and so fertile in the production of important results, should have been contested by different persons and nations, is not to be wondered at: yet we cannot but regret that, at the distance of more than a century from the æra of the invention, an attempt should be made by a learned foreigner, M. Bossut,\* to revive the discussion in such a manner as to involve it in additional obscurity and misrepresentation; and that an English mathematician should be found so insensible to the reputation of his country, as to publish a translation of Bossut's work, unaccompanied by a single word of censure or correction.

As the subject of Fluxions is not likely to come before us very frequently, and as we feel too much for our countrymen to be silent, while we see them stripped of their hard-earned laurels, we shall avail ourselves of the opportunity furnished by Mr. Dealtry, to prove that Newton is not only the inventor but the *sole* inventor of the Fluxional analysis; and farther, that the French, in endeavouring to rob him of this honour, have acted upon a

\* *Histoire des Mathématiques.* Translated by Bonnycastle.



principle which they have uniformly pursued with regard to English men of science.

We shall not waste the time of our readers in detailing the oft refuted story that 'Newton, the friend and pupil of Barrow, drew from him the hints which he afterwards worked up into his discoveries;' nor in proving that Newton was the *first* inventor both of the direct and inverse method of Fluxions; for that is expressly acknowledged by Montucla: but shall content ourselves with inquiring, whether Leibnitz really stole his invention from Newton, while he pretended to have discovered it; and whether the continental philosophers, especially the French, continue to ascribe the invention to Leibnitz, notwithstanding they have sufficient evidence of the contrary?

Now it is beyond dispute that Newton invented the general method of series, and the direct and inverse method of fluxions, in the course of the years 1664, 1665, 1666; that in letters circulated among his friends in those years, he developed the principles and explained the notation of those methods; and it is equally a fact, never called in question by M. Leibnitz or any of his advocates, that the letters containing these discoveries, or at least copies of them, were sent by Collins to Leibnitz in 1672; that Oldenburgh made similar communications early in 1676; and that Newton himself communicated to Leibnitz, first a brief sketch of his method in 1672, and in 1676 an account of his Treatise, in which he described his theory, (not in dark characters, as Bossut insinuates,) and the various kinds of problems to which it would apply. Leibnitz indeed acknowledges that in 1676, being in England, 'he staid some days in London, where he became acquainted with Collins, who shewed him several letters from Gregory, Newton, and other mathematicians, which turned *CHIEFLY on series*.' Leibnitz, then, was acquainted with the principles of Newton's methods before the year 1676; and we have evidence that in 1675, *he desired Oldenburgh to procure from Mr. Collins, Newton's methods of solving certain problems which he did not understand.*

The natural inference from all this, is that Leibnitz borrowed his first, if not his *entire* notion of the new analysis from the communications of Newton and his friends. Before we decide, however, we must take into account, Leibnitz's reply to Oldenburgh in 1677, in which he says, 'he has *long since* treated the subject more generally' than Slusius, in his method of tangents; and look to what Bossut calls 'the ever-memorable paper' of 1684, which contained the elements of the Calculus Differentialis. This paper, in truth, relates only to a few questions concerning tangents, and to the method of *maxima et minima*; but its author

does not, even then, meddle with the problems of the higher geometry; though Newton had solved them ten years before. This was Leibnitz's first public essay on the subject, written eight years after he had observed in a letter to Newton—'What you seem to say, that almost all difficulties (with regard to fluents) may be reduced to infinite series, *I cannot come into*; for there are several problems so intricate and perplexed, as not to depend either on equations or quadratures;'—a remarkable declaration, made, unfortunately for the credit of Leibnitz's veracity, within six months of the time when he affirmed that he had *long since* treated the subject more generally.

Leibnitz's second essay on the new analysis was given in 1689, when he published *as his own* the chief propositions of the Principia, (a work which Newton had sent him,) in three different papers, entitled, *Epistola de lineis opticis*; *Schediasma de Resistentia medii et motu projectilium gravium in medio resistente*; et *Tentamen de Motuum Cælestium Causis*. In these he pretended that he had discovered all those propositions *before* the Principia appeared; and the better to appropriate to himself the principal of them, he thought fit to subjoin his own demonstration: here again, unluckily for Leibnitz, his new demonstration, purposely varied from Newton's, was *erroneous*; he was obliged to retract it himself; and thus proved that at this period he knew not how to *work with second fluxions*.

Can any one, after the perusal of these facts, believe for a moment that Leibnitz was really the inventor of the new analysis? Is it not the fair inference, that whatever be the merits of Leibnitz in other respects, he owes the invention of the Differential analysis entirely to Newton; and that he merely devised his new notation to disguise its origin?

But we will go still farther, and shew that this adoption of another's discoveries was consistent with the general habits of Leibnitz. In 1669, amongst other series by Newton, one for finding the arc of a circle from the sine—and, in 1671, another by James Gregory for finding the arc from the tangent, were sent to Collins, who, according to his usual custom, communicated them to several persons on the continent. In 1674, Leibnitz mentions, in a letter to Oldenburgh, his being possessed of the first series; and in 1675 both Newton and Gregory's series were sent by Oldenburgh to Leibnitz. But in 1676 Leibnitz dropped his pretensions to the first series, *not being able to demonstrate it*, and sent to Oldenburgh, *as his own*, that of Gregory, with a demonstration. Yet, in 1713, papers were discovered which compelled Leibnitz to acknowledge that the series which he formerly pretended to be his own, was stolen from Gregory! In 1676 he asserted

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his claim to the co-invention of four series with Newton; though the method of finding them was sent him by Newton at his own request; and, though when he made his claim, he did not understand them, but requested Newton to explain some things farther. In 1677 he pretended to have found two series for the number whose logarithm was given; and yet, in the same letter, he desired Newton to explain to him how he found those series: Newton's reply convinced Leibnitz that he knew nothing of the nature of those particular series, and he was then modest enough to desist from his claim. In the same year, however, he made a sweeping declaration of having *long ago* invented all these series; but that having *forgot* his own methods, he wrote for Newton's! Such is the conduct of the man whom the French extol as a greater philosopher than Newton. Nor is this all. He pretended to Newton's differential method; to a property of a series discovered by Pascal; to a method of regression; to the discovery of the solid of least resistance; and to the invention of many propositions which he neither understood nor could demonstrate. Well therefore might M. Bossut characterise his hero as having a genius '*vaste et devorant*;' for he swallowed every choice morsel which came in his way with singular avidity; though he was often obliged to disgorge it to his own disgrace.

If these facts were merely detailed in manuscripts, or published in books but little read, there might be some apology for the French philosophers, in uniformly awarding the honour of the invention of fluxions and the chief problems connected with them, to Leibnitz: but the *Commercium Epistolicum* of Collins, the admirable account of that work in the Philosophical Transactions, and the second volume of Robins's Tracts, which contain these and a multitude of other facts equally striking and decisive, published *before* the death of Leibnitz, have been very widely circulated on the continent, and are indeed quoted by some of those who, notwithstanding, espouse the cause of Leibnitz, and depreciate Newton, as one who made a mystery of science, and was deluded by the flattery of his countrymen.

Conduct like this is totally irreconcilable with a genuine love of truth or science. It is however perfectly compatible with the general practice of 'the Great Nation,' to steal from the English their inventions and discoveries; and, with some slight modifications, to exhibit them to the world as their own. As this part of our article is swelling under our hands, we select only a few instances.

1. The invention of the *modern* telegraph (for we here say nothing of the contrivances of Cleoxenus, Polybius, and others) is due to Dr. Hooke. His instrument was described to the Royal

Society in 1684; and published, with diagrams, in a work much read in France. Nearly twenty years afterwards, viz. in 1702, M. Amontons invented a telegraph, little different from Hooke's. The French have ever since called Amontons the inventor; and the English, always too careless of the honour of their countrymen in such matters, have generally conceded the point.

2. Several of the mechanical contrivances in Desaguliers's Experimental Philosophy, Birch's History of the Royal Society, and the Philosophical Transactions, have been published in the 'Collection of Machines approved by the French Academy,' and the inventions ascribed to some foreigner whose name was never seen on any other occasion, or in any other place.

3. The sexagesimal division of the circle was first objected to, by the English mathematicians Oughtred and Wallis, both of whom recommended a *decimal* or *centesimal* division; and Dr. John Newton (an Englishman also) published a centesimal trigonometrical table in 1659. In the Philosophical Transactions for 1784, Dr. Hutton proposed the construction of trigonometrical tables on a new plan, in which the arc of the quadrant should be divided into aliquot parts of the radius. This awakened the attention of the French to the subject; and they instantly set about preparing more extensive tables than those of Dr. Newton: thus there appeared centesimal tables by Callet in 1795, and by Borda in 1801. From this period the French always speak of the centesimal division of the quadrant as theirs; English authors also speak of the 'new French division of the quadrant;' although the original idea is undoubtedly English, and a table, as we have observed, was published here in 1659, nearly 150 years before our neighbours thought of any such division.

4. The method of denoting the angles of triangles by the letters A, B, C, and the sides respectively opposite to them by the same letters in another form, *a, b, c*, was devised by an Englishman, and given by Gardiner in the Introduction to his *Logarithmick seventy years ago*. These tables were widely circulated on the continent; and a new edition was published at Avignon in 1770. The French mathematicians soon perceived the advantages of this simple improvement, and with their usual generosity adopted it as their own.

5. Montgolfier's *Hydraulic Ram*, described and highly commended by Montucla, Sonmini, and other French authors, is obviously a slight modification of Whitehurst's hydraulic machine, described in the Philosophical Transactions for 1775.

6. Carnot has taken propositions from Thomas Simpson, which he calls *new*; but afterwards, through forgetfulness, refers to the very works in which they are to be found. We believe, too, that the

the best parts of Carnot's theory of *correlation* are due to an Englishman, who, a few years ago, when it was a sort of fashion with our countrymen to strive for the honour of being members of the 'National Institute,' sent a paper on the negative sign, and had the deserved mortification of seeing it *rejected*, while all his thoughts were *adopted* in M. Carnot's '*Geometrie de Position*,' published soon after.

7. D'Alembert's dynamical principle, so much boasted by the French mathematicians, is obviously borrowed from Newton's third law of motion; being indeed little more than the same thing so modified as to suit the algebraical method of investigating problems. Yet no French author, since the time of D'Alembert, ascribes either the original law or its applications to Newton.

8. If there be any philosophical discovery in modern times, of which the undisputed honour belongs to one man, it is that of latent heat by Dr. Black. Yet Lavoisier, in his developement of this principle, disingenuously conceals the name of the discoverer, although he had written a fulsome letter to him, in praise of his original genius. Subsequent French chemists have agreed in suppressing the name of Black: and there is reason to think that they contrived their new chemical nomenclature, almost entirely for the purpose of describing the brilliant discoveries of Black, Cavendish, and other British chemists, in novel language, and depriving them of their merited fame. That nomenclature, notwithstanding the strong objections to which many parts of it are liable, now prevails universally; and the consequence is that Lavoisier is extolled on the continent as the father of genuine chemical science, while Schéele, Bergman, and Black, are thrown into the shade.

9. Laplace, in his *Mécanique Céleste*, (tom. iv. p. 27,) deduces a formula for astronomical refractions, strictly similar to the one discovered half a century before by Dr. Bradley. The French astronomers have uniformly adopted and extolled Laplace's formula, and taken no more notice of its correspondence with that of Bradley than if the latter had never existed.

10. In 1805 Dr. Thomas Young published, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, some ingenious researches on the minute actions of fluids: in the succeeding year M. Laplace printed his *Essays* 'on the apparent attraction and repulsion of small bodies floating on the surface of liquids,' and 'on the adhesion of bodies to the surface of fluids,' in which he acknowledges that he has taken *one* idea from Dr. Young's paper; whence it is reasonable to conclude that he has borrowed *but* one. What opinion, then, will the reader form of his liberality, when he finds, on comparing the two papers, that the coincidence of results is not confined to *one* point,

point, but extends to every part of the investigations in question, without any material exception?

Thus far, (and we have by no means exhausted our materials,) we have been led by a sense of justice to our country: we must now attend to Mr. Dealtry. In the composition of his treatise he professes to have guided himself by two rules from which he says 'he has not intentionally deviated in a single instance.' 1. To illustrate every thing in the simplest and most perspicuous manner. 2. To introduce every subject which an ordinary student is likely to require. In conformity to these rules, he disposes his materials in the following order. Having given the algorithm of fluxions, and shewn how to find the fluxions of the most usual quantities, he explains their application to the maxima and minima of quantities, and to the drawing tangents and asymptotes to curves. He then gives a brief account of the method of finding and correcting fluents; and exemplifies their use in finding the areas of curves, the capacities of solids, the lengths of curves, and the surfaces of solids. The fluxional processes for determining the centres of gravity, gyration, and oscillation, are next explained; and followed by a very short chapter on second, third, and higher fluxions. He proceeds to treat of points of contrary flexure, radii of curvature, evolutes of curves, spirals of different kinds; and investigates the chief properties of some celebrated curves, as the conchoid, the cissoid, the logarithmic curve, and the catenary; thence he passes to the attractions of bodies, the nature and computation of logarithms, and the maxima and minima of curves under certain relations; and gives us two valuable chapters on the motion of bodies urged by centripetal forces, and in resisting mediums. We are next presented with two extensive and highly interesting chapters on fluents and fluxional equations; and the work terminates with a copious and diversified collection of problems in various branches of pure and mixed mathematics.

The distinguishing characteristic of this author is perspicuity. He writes like a sound logician, who does not rest in analytical speculations as an end, but considers them as means, (and admirable means indeed they are,) of disciplining the mind. We think with him that 'the mere knowledge of certain truths is, to the great body of literary men, a matter only of secondary importance, when compared with the advantages which result from the exercise of the understanding, and the improvement of the reasoning faculty:' and we rejoice that he has presented the public with a work in no part of which are the logical and metaphysical advantages of the science sacrificed to a love of abstruseness, or a wish to dazzle and surprise. Mr. Dealtry never loses himself in intricacies; and but seldom leaves his readers in the dark for want of any requisite steps in his investigations.



gations. His introductory view of the nature of fluxions is not quite so well guarded, perhaps, against objections as it might have been, nor so full as many learners may wish; but by making his sixth article correspond with Maclaurin's analogous theorem he has sheltered himself under mighty authority. Mr. Dealtry has, farther, the great merit of deducing the fluxional expressions for tangents, radii of curvature, rectifications, surfaces, &c. with succinctness and clearness; and, *generally*, that of illustrating his rules by a sufficient variety of examples. Altogether, indeed, we consider this as the best treatise on fluxions (except perhaps that by Lyons) which has been published in England since the days of Thomas Simpson: and we regret, that a work which we so highly approve, should notwithstanding be marked with a few deficiencies, which prevent our giving it an unqualified recommendation.

As we have no doubt that this treatise will be reprinted, and as we shall take a very sincere pleasure in contributing somewhat to its perfection, we trust Mr. Dealtry will receive the subjoined remarks with the same kindness with which they are offered.

'An introduction,' says Lord Bacon, 'ought to have two properties; the one, that of a perspicuous and clear method; and the other, that of a universal latitude and comprehension, where the students may have a little pre-notion of every thing, like a model towards a great building.' This maxim comprehends the two rules which Mr. Dealtry prescribed to himself; yet he appears to have somewhat violated the latter. 1st, He has omitted several topics of discussion, which are quite as intimately connected with the general subject, as others which are found in his book. Why, for example, are the fluxional methods of finding the centres of gravity, gyration, and oscillation given, and those for the centres of percussion and pressure omitted? and why is no notice taken of the centro-baric method? Mr. Dealtry must be aware that the centres of oscillation, percussion and pressure do not universally reside in the same point: and he well knows that the centro-baric theory furnishes a remarkably elegant process for quadratures and cubatures, which often applies with ease to cases where the common fluxionary method is difficult and tedious. Why, again, is there no theory given of the fluxional analogies of plane and spherical triangles, useful as these are in plane and physical astronomy? And finally, why is no notice taken of the subjects of catacaustics and diacaustics? The theory of this sublimer part of optica is at once simple and fascinating, and there flows from it a peculiarly beautiful method of tracing the properties of spherical glasses single or compound, and of ascertaining their foci at any distance of the radiant point from the lens.

2dly. In some of the subjects introduced into Mr. Dealtry's work,

work, there are omissions which ought to be supplied; thus, in the chapter on tangents, he has overlooked the case in which  $\frac{\dot{x}}{\dot{y}} = 0$  a case which will occur in the curve whose equation is  $x^4 - a y x^2 + b y^2 = 0$ , and in various others. This is the more remarkable, because it was exhibited by an early objector to the new analysis, (*M. Rolle*,) as furnishing a striking exception to the universality of the fluxional method. It is, indeed, a real difficulty to a learner, though easily surmounted by the assistance of an intelligent tutor, and ought certainly to have been explained in the work before us. Under the head of tangents, too, the author should have treated the *inverse* problem, in which the equation expressing the nature of the curve is deduced from the analytic value of the subtangent. The examples at page 329, are too restricted to supply this deficiency.

Again, in the chapter on points of contrary flexure, a student will not meet with all the information which he requires. He is not, for example, told that, at a certain point of a curve there will be *inflection* and neither *maximum* nor *minimum* when  $\frac{\dot{y}}{\dot{x}}$  becomes nothing simultaneously with  $\frac{y}{x}$ . Nor is he taught to distinguish between points of inflection and *regression*. Regressions of

the second species, indicated by the formula  $\frac{\dot{x} \dot{x} \dot{y} + \dot{y} \dot{y} \dot{y} - 3 \dot{y} \dot{y} \dot{y}}{x y y} = 0$  or  $\infty$ , certainly merited particular attention.

The succeeding chapter on the radius of curvature, though excellent as far as it goes, is still defective: for here, also, the inverse problem of finding the curve from the radius of curvature is omitted, although it may be subdivided into at least four cases, viz. when the curve is referred to a focus, when it is referred to an axis, when the radius or co-radius is given in terms of the abscissa, and when it is given in a curve referred to an axis. On this part of the subject, the papers of the Riccati and of Gabriel Manfredi, in the second volume of the *Bolonian Commentaries*, may be consulted with advantage.

There are some very ingenious and useful propositions in the chapter on spirals; but, to have rendered it complete, the author should have noticed the spiral of Pappus, and the Loxodromic spiral; especially as the latter leads to the solution of a very interesting problem in navigation, a subject which Mr. Dealtry obviously does not think beneath his notice, since he has treated of Mercator's projection. But the omission, which we most regret, is that of curves of double curvature, since the consideration of their tangents, their osculatory and normal planes, is extremely interesting, and, in the usual cases, free from any difficulty which may not be easily removed.

Farther,

Farther, we must notice the chapters on fluents and fluxional equations. These, as we have already intimated, are highly ingenious and valuable; and their utility is much increased by the addition of some elegant propositions from Demoivre and Cotes; but they are not altogether complete. The integration of fluxional equations involving two variable quantities is imperfectly treated; the comprehensive method by a separation of the indeterminates is scarcely adverted to, and the *criterion of integrability* in equations of these kinds no where exhibited. For this the reader may be referred to the works on the integral calculus by Euler, Lacroix, and Bossut; by the latter of whom this branch of the subject is treated in a very masterly manner. We lament that no English author, with whose works we are acquainted, has entered upon this particular enquiry, notwithstanding it is that to which we must look for the principal improvements in the modern analysis.

A less important circumstance, which has been left unnoticed by Mr. Dealtry, is, that in the investigations of curves, such formulæ sometimes arise as admit of integrations which are really different, and supply us with curves of various kinds, even without the addition of any constant quantity. Thus the equation  $\frac{2xy - 2y^2}{(x-y)^2} = z$ , may become by integration,  $\frac{2x}{x-y} = z$ ,  $\frac{2y}{x-y} = z$ ,  $\frac{x+y}{x-y} = z$ ,  $\frac{2y}{x-y} = y$ ,  $\frac{x+y}{x-y} = y$ , &c. or  $\frac{2x+c}{x-y} = \int z$ , the fluent varying with the assumed value of  $c$ , but being limited by certain relations of the unknown quantities.

3dly. We would give a few instances in which the solutions of particular problems might admit of improvement. And here we first turn to the investigations relative to the conchoid, where those who learn the nature of the curve from this book, will be left in ignorance as to the existence of such curves as the inferior and nodated conchoids, and of that in which there is a conjugate point. Here, too, is a solution of the problem, 'to find the point of contrary flexure' in a conchoid, unaccompanied by the remark that the inferior conchoid is often without any such point.

In the chapter on the maxima and minima of curves under certain conditions, we object to the solutions of the 2d and 8th examples. Thus in the problem where it is required to find the curve, which by a revolution round its axis shall generate the greatest solid under a given surface, Mr. Dealtry determines the solid to be a sphere. But this is only a particular case of the general solution:

for the fluxional equation to the curve is  $\dot{x} = \frac{(y^2 - c)\dot{y}}{\sqrt{4a^2y^2 - (y^2 - c)^2}}$

which becomes  $\dot{x} = \frac{y\dot{y}}{\sqrt{4a^2 - y^2}}$ , an equation to a circle, only when

$$c = 0.$$

$e=0$ . Again, in finding the curve of swiftest descent, when the velocity varies as the square root of the ordinate, our author determines it to be a cycloid, but does not notice the essential condition, that the curve must commence at the upper of the two given points; as was first shewn by Newton in his admirable construction of the problem, given in Phil. Transac. No. 224.

The solution of the problem in which it is required 'to find when that part of the equation of time which arises from the obliquity of the ecliptic, is a maximum,' is correct: but has the disadvantage of not being *fluxional*. Were it not that Mr. Dealtry has declined to investigate the fluxions of spherical triangles, he might have exhibited a very simple solution in a small compass. For the sun's longitude ( $l$ ) will form the hypothenuse of a right angled spherical triangle, of which his right ascension ( $a$ ) will be the base, and the obliquity of the ecliptic or angle between them, a constant angle. Hence, by Cagnoli's Trigonometry, page 329 and 677, we have  $l : a :: \sin. 2l : \sin. 2a$ . Therefore, when  $l = a$ , as it must be in the case of the maximum,  $\sin. 2l = \sin. 2a$ . Consequently,  $2l$  must be the supplement of  $2a$ , or  $l + a = 90^\circ$ . So that when  $l - a = 0$ , or  $l - a = a \text{ max.}$  that is, when this part of the equation of time is a maximum, the sum of the sun's longitude and right ascension will be 90 degrees; the sun being either in the 1st or 3d quadrant of the ecliptic. The correspondent time is about May the 7th or November the 8th.

In solving the mechanical problems in which the effects of friction will be very considerable, it might have been advisable to shew how those effects are to be estimated or brought into the calculus, upon any assumed hypothesis: though if substances were perfectly smooth, or chains, cords, &c. perfectly flexible, the process of Mr. Dealtry would be strictly correct. Here too we would remark that, in prob. 107, where the time is to be computed in which a chain will run off a pulley, the length of the chain being  $L$ , the difference in the length of its two ends at the commencement of the motion,  $2a$ , and  $m = 16\frac{1}{2}$  feet, Mr. Dealtry's final expression for the time  $t$  is

$$t = \sqrt{\frac{L}{4m}} \times \text{hyp. log. } \frac{\frac{1}{2}L + \sqrt{(aL - 2a^2) + (\frac{1}{2}L - a^2)}}{a};$$

but this manifestly reduces to the simpler and more convenient expression,

$$t = \sqrt{\frac{L}{4m}} \times \text{hyp. log. } \frac{L + \sqrt{(L^2 - 4a^2)}}{2a}.$$

Prob. 108, is 'Suppose a weight suspended by a cord passing over a fixed pulley, to be uniformly drawn up: required the number of vibrations which the weight would make before it reaches the pulley?'

pulley?" It is demonstrated by a fluxional process, that the number of vibrations made by such a variable pendulum is twice the number that would be made in the same time by a common pendulum whose length is  $a$ , the primitive length of the variable pendulum. The fluxional solution was certainly the only one open to our author; but the mathematical student will be aware that the problem may be solved more easily without fluxions: for an answer may be obtained by merely summing a series of fractions, whose numerators are equal, and whose denominators are square roots whose sides are single powers, decreasing from a given term in a given arithmetical progression. A very elegant solution, to a far more general problem, is given by Dr. Hutton, at page 195 of his 'Select Exercises.'

We have now obtruded on the patience of our readers, and the candour of the author, a considerable number of objections; but the truth is, that this is one of those works which can endure objection, and of which, therefore, it is a more useful task to point out the defects than the merits. We are sensible that, to the exceptions we have taken, Mr. Dealtry may have an answer which, in point of legal strictness at least, would be in a good measure available. He may allege that he has, in his preface, expressly disclaimed the purpose of writing a complete treatise;—that his object, as there stated, was merely to collect so much of analytical knowledge as might suffice for the illustration of the chief propositions of Newton's *Principia*;—and that he has in terms protested against all demands exceeding this limit. It is difficult, we acknowledge, to draw the exact line in such cases; and perhaps most of what we have described as the desiderata of Mr. Dealtry's publication, may have been omitted by him from deliberation, not from inadvertence. At the same time, we should more easily allow to this writer the benefit of the plea in question, if he had executed less well that which he has actually attempted; and we have so favourable an opinion of his performance that we cannot help wishing it were as complete as it is excellent. Indeed we know not where to look for a work which might so securely be recommended to that class of persons whom the author avows himself to have had principally in view;—academical students of the mathematics. Nor, amidst the other and more peculiarly appropriate merits which we have already ascribed to it, can we forget to mention a quality, in which some mathematical compositions of considerable eminence have been greatly defective—the unaffected language and unpretending manner in which its principles and results are developed.

This work is handsomely and, in general, correctly printed. There appears to us, however, to be nothing, either in the quantity  
of

of matter introduced, or in the length and structure of the analytical expressions, which could call for the royal octavo size; the only effect of which is, that the volume is rendered unnecessarily cumbersome and expensive.

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ART. V. *The State of the Established Church, in a Series of Letters to the Right Honourable Spencer Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c.* Second Edition, corrected and enlarged. With an Appendix of Official Documents. pp. 151. Stockdale, Pall-Mall, London. 1810.

**A**N Established Church has for its end the maintenance of religion; and it pursues that end by the appointment of ministers, supported from public funds, whose business it is to perform religious offices, convey religious instruction, and promote, by precept and example, consistent practice. It must at all times, therefore, be desirable to discuss, in what degree the means employed effect the end proposed: and, if any plans are suggested by which greater efficacy may be given to the means, it is important that they should be fairly stated and considered.

But, in proportion as the subject involves considerations of deep and serious concern, it is essentially requisite that the task of discussing it should not be lightly undertaken. The person who comes forward for this purpose may reasonably be expected, to have previously examined his competency to the business. He should be satisfied that he is not led away by a fondness for finding faults, and amusing the public with plans of fancied perfection, never to be realized in any establishments in which human beings are concerned. Above all, he should be cautious not to bring to the discussion a mind soured by spleen, or perverted by prejudice; a disposition to give exaggerated statements of existing imperfections; and to set off facts and characters so as to convey, on the whole, a most unfair and false representation. Should he be unfortunately deficient in discretion, candour, or good temper, it is highly probable, that, whatever be his desire of doing good to the church, he may inflict upon it serious and positive injury.

The anonymous author of the work before us, who has thought proper to volunteer his services for the benefit of the establishment, is unquestionably very far from possessing these sterling qualities. In many of his assertions respecting particular circumstances of the church, and the character and conduct of the clergy, he violates every law of justice and decorum. His invectives are frequently



frequently conceived and expressed in a spirit of the most determined bitterness: his statements are, in many instances, false in point of fact; and, in almost all, liable to the charge of misrepresentation. If it had been his declared object to degrade and vilify the clergy, and to loosen the hold which they have and ought to have on public esteem, we know not that he could have easily adopted language more suited to his views.

We have often accounted, in our own minds, for the great number of persons who have taken up the profession of reforming errors and abuses in all ages, from the facility with which it may be embraced, and the pleasure which attends its exercise. In the first place, it is perfectly easy to point out corruptions and abuses in all human institutions. In every system, at all extensive and complicated, the dullest of mortals has sufficient wit to discover something which is wrong: add to this, the more his views are confined, the more he sees matters in detail, and not in their general tendency. In the second place, few, we fear, are wholly exempt from a slight sprinkling of that species of querulousness, which generates, at times, an inclination to find fault, and makes the act of doing so no unwelcome employment. Still the generality of persons will be backward in indulging such a disposition, unless they can contrive to satisfy themselves that they are acting from some popular and virtuous motive, and not from the incitements of private spleen and ill-humour. When the character of a reformer is once assumed, this motive is readily supplied. Intemperance of expression and harshness of invective take the name of compliance with a strong feeling of public duty. It then becomes the office of hardy and unbending virtue to give the worst name to corruptions and abuses; to pry with busy nicety into the conduct and characters of others; to speak whatever may be deemed plain truth, without reserve; in other words, to misrepresent facts and to convey very injurious impressions, by means of exaggerated statements.

We conceive that we are putting the most favourable construction on the motives of the writer before us, when we consider him as a person deeply affected with the love of reform, and under the influence of this specious passion freely indulging a disposition to see things in their worst colours. He takes indeed frequent occasion to let us know that he is no lover of fanciful schemes. In one place (p. 32) he says 'he has as little inclination as any one for innovations;' in another, (p. 90,) that 'he has an innate dread of specious reform:'—we are not always, however, disposed to take a man's character of himself, and sometimes infer, from the very anxiety to remove an imputation, the existence of an inward consciousness that it is just. By supposing him also to

possess too little judgment to see the full consequences of what he says, and too little delicacy to feel the proper way of stating what he intends, we may perhaps, account, in the least invidious manner, for the coarse and intemperate invectives of which we have to complain.

The author, writing under the form of letters, (ten in number,) assumes the privilege allowed by that species of composition, of setting down his matter in the most desultory manner. Frequently, when he appears about to discuss a part of the subject, he merely gives a short notice of it, and flies off at once to other topics. He expresses himself, generally with freedom, and sometimes with force; but his remarks are in many instances too flippant, and his occasional asperity of animadversion highly reprehensible.

He begins by complimenting Mr. Perceval on his attachment to the interests of the Established Church, in which we are cordially disposed to join—and he properly adduces, as proofs of such friendly disposition, his Majesty's recommendation to his Parliament to consider the case of small livings, and the liberal grant made in consequence. We have, however, a very early foretaste of the tone and spirit in which his observations are to be conveyed. He calls (p. 4) for 'a rigid and effectual reform of those errors and decays which have crept into the Established Church.' He tells us (p. 8) that, had there been *common and decent attention and zeal* on the part of the clergy, there would have been at this time very few seceders. Professing to feel great alarm at the dangers which threaten the established church, he wishes to lend his feeble aid in its support, and accordingly proceeds to the causes which have led to its decline, and to suggest the best means of counteracting them.

'In doing this, (he says, p. 11,) I shall be under the painful necessity of attributing to the conduct of a large proportion of the clergy the greater part of the evils which I shall point out; and of speaking of their character and conduct with a degree of censure from which I would willingly be spared. I must do so with the more reluctance, because I am not unaware that those who have a motive different from mine, constantly assail religion through its ministers; and that, while I arraign the clergy as a body, I may appear to lose sight of the very many (I still hope the majority) who are entitled to very different treatment.'

He considers our church establishment as consisting of well-endowed schools and seminaries for the education of ministers of religion, and large revenues set apart for the maintenance of the different orders. 'Of these numerous and costly establishments, (he adds, p. 14,) there is only one description which has not widely  
degenerated

degenerated from its original objects and utility.\* After so sweeping a condemnation, our readers may be curious to know, in favour of which this splendid exception is made. He alludes, he says, to our public schools, which continue to afford a most wise and solid system of education; 'but he is bound to detach from the applause which he readily bestows on them, the modern state of our universities.' Now, that our public schools have not departed from the design of their original institution, we readily agree: but, on what principle it can be asserted that they have not, and that our universities have, we are wholly at a loss to discover. In both, combined with many evils which cannot be prevented, are found many solid and substantial advantages. If it be allowed that our public schools are subject to the best regulations which vigilant attention and prospective caution on the part of those who preside, can devise; that in them the faculties of the mind are stirred to activity, and that species of emulation excited, which draws forth various talent; it must also be allowed that here and there, from the impossibility of close attention to individuals, dullness will remain uninstructed, and idleness escape without effectual correction; that subordination will occasionally become relaxed; and that vicious habits will spread a taint, where the facility of contagion is necessarily so great. The advantages and evils, belonging to our public schools and universities, are inseparable from the nature of both; and we have yet to learn, what departure from the original institution is to be charged against the one, which does not, on the same ground, and with the same reason, apply to the other.

But we must yet dwell a little on the author's injurious statements respecting the universities—statements so strong, that, if opinions of them are formed from his representations, they will be supposed to be mere sinks of depravity and corruption. The evils which attach to our present church establishment have their source, according to him, in the want of subordination and discipline at the universities. In his statement of the cause of this, however, we can scarcely believe him serious. 'Much of it is owing,' he says, (p. 16,) 'to the introduction of many persons to the higher offices of this establishment, upon mere principles of charity, with little reference to weight, talents, and respectability.' He tells us, that 'poverty and prescription become almost the only passports to fellowships of colleges,' that 'young men of highest attainments, liberal fortunes and manners, are frequently dismissed to make way for persons who have no other recommendation but their poverty, and of genius and pursuits very little elevated above those of a common mechanic.' (p. 18.) If we wished to give a notable instance of a man writing on a subject of which his ignorance is complete in every part, we know not how we could possibly select

lect a more instructive specimen than this. It is singular, that, while his general head of accusation against the universities is that of a wide departure from their original institution, he should rest upon a charge, which has its only foundation in the necessary adherence to the terms of that institution; and in regard to which a departure from those terms would, if practicable, be, of all things, the most desirable: since the only cases where inferior merit and ill-founded pretensions place men in offices of academical trust and emolument are precisely those, in which a free choice is precluded by the unfortunate restriction of statutes. Throwing these cases out of the question as admitting no remedy, we can state from the best authority, that the assertion is palpably untrue: that wherever freedom of election is permitted, the claims of talent, learning, and character are principally considered, and that the most scrupulous attention is paid to the means of balancing the different pretensions of candidates. The danger evidently is from a different quarter, from too much weight being allowed to wealth and extraneous interest, in opposition to the claims of deserving and unbefriended poverty. If any well-founded accusation of this nature could be brought against the universities, we should then agree that they had departed from their original institution, and deserved some severity of invective. As the matter stands, we apprehend that the public will perceive, in the ground of the insinuations here thrown out, the fullest assurance, that in reality no improper influence is suffered to interfere in the disposal of academical preferments, and that due attention is paid to the claims of merit. In fact, the state of things in the universities is on that footing which is most natural and most desirable. The road of preferment is open to all; a fair encouragement is given to talent and industry; and in proportion as those who depend on themselves for advancement, are likely to make the greatest exertions, in that proportion, and no other, do instances abound of persons rising from inferior walks of life into stations of academical trust and power. But the author proceeds—

“The corruption of manners suffered by these persons to exist among the students is the groundwork of the greater part of the calamities which now threaten the church. There is no person who has been a member of either of these places of education who must not be sensible, that there are more vice and profligacy of manners countenanced at our universities, where a direct and obvious check exists, than would be suffered to take place among its members afterwards, when they arrive at situations in life which present no positive restraints; and that the scenes of riot and debauchery which pass *unnoticed* (or at least are ineffectually noticed) by those who cannot be ignorant of them, would in this metropolis subject the perpetrators to the correction of the police.”

—p. 20.

It must be observed, that in this passage (and others to the same effect) the writer talks of profligacy, corruption, &c. not as incidental to the universities, but as belonging to them generally, and characterising them systematically—not as existing in spite of the endeavours of those who preside, but as countenanced, or connived at by them. These, in truth, are hard terms; and, if infamy would indeed attach to the accused party, provided the charge could admit of proof; it cannot be much less infamous in the accuser to have advanced it, on light grounds, without proof, and without support.

How then is the accusation to be met? Not surely by denying that any instances of vice and insubordination occur in the universities. Wherever any large number of human beings are collected, there, we fear, some vicious taint will always be found. At an age when passion is headstrong, when the restraint of reason is feeble, and the rein of authority ill endured, it were indeed to expect too much, to hope that any degree of vigilance and caution could, in every instance, repress the tendency to irregularity and excess. But the accusation may be confidently met, by stating that the cases of corruption and excess are exceptions to the general system of manners, and to the general habits there established. These are, in the main, correct, decorous, and proper. On what plea the author can pretend to justify his assertion of 'countenance and connivance at irregularities in the universities,' we are totally at a loss to judge, nor does he pretend to explain. The experience of all 'who have been members of these places of education' will not, we are fully convinced, supply him with a single instance of this description. On the contrary, it will inform him, that nothing is omitted in the maintenance of becoming discipline, which discreet and cautious vigilance can suggest. He cannot surely require to be reminded, that, in such matters, there must always be a proper adjustment of the means to the end; that what is desirable; is not always practicable; that when the rein of discipline is drawn too tight, its purposes will often be defeated; and that authority exercised without judgment frequently provokes a resistance leading to an increase of the evils which it was intended to repress. That the persons who preside in the universities regulate their exertions in maintaining discipline, by moderation and discretion, we do and must believe: but we pronounce, without hesitation, the statement of wilful connivance at vice, to be a most unfounded and injurious calumny.

Having afforded this view of the manners of the universities, he proceeds to a sketch equally just and correct of their religious studies, and the attendance on divine worship. He states, that 'Christianity forms little or no part of the regular plan of instruction;

struction; that, 'contrary to the experience in every other profession, candidates for our ministry are taught every branch of science but that in which they are to practise;' (p. 21;) and that 'the principles of religion form no step whatever to the degree at Cambridge, and at Oxford a very trifling one,' p. 24. These assertions we must again meet with a positive denial. Certain it is, that, as the universities are places of general education for persons in every station of life, the instruction must be extended to the several parts of useful learning, not confined to one in particular. Certain too it is, that, preparatory to the exercise of every profession, the sacred, as well as others, a foundation must be laid in the knowledge of the learned languages, and of ethics, and in the general improvement of the reasoning faculties—and, in consequence, to these general objects the course of academical instruction is, and ought to be, mainly directed. But independently of these preparatory studies, it is well known that, at both the universities (no less at Cambridge, of which this writer expressly denies the fact, than at Oxford, of which he hardly allows it) lectures on the essential parts of theology are expressly given, forming, perhaps, no part of the subject matter of examination for degrees, but still enforcing, on the whole, no inconsiderable portion of attention to these objects.

On the subject of divine service, he says that, 'the attendance on it is rather a roll-call than a religious duty;' that 'it is hurried over, like a burthensome ceremony, that young men go there intoxicated,' &c. &c. p. 22. Here we perceive the same complete misrepresentation of substantial truth; yet so connected with incidental facts as not to be pronounced absolute falsehood. By the very repetition of religious duties, it must be admitted that the feeling of solemnity too frequently wears away, and that the attention is too apt to flag; on this account a tendency will always exist, in those who are obliged to a continual round of attendance, to substitute a mere formal observance for the essence and spirit of the duty. This evil, we fear, is seated in human nature, and if the author could discover any means of wholly preventing it, he would confer no common service on mankind. But it is decidedly untrue, that any systematic neglect, any general deficiency in the mode of performing the services in college chapels, assists and promotes this tendency. When he asserts that the students 'go to the chapels intoxicated,' what does he mean to impress on the public mind? That college chapels are scenes of habitual riot and debauchery? Perhaps he may have the modesty to confess that this is not his meaning; but that he has heard of such things. And what species of indecorum, and excess is there, we may ask, of which, in schools, in universities, in all public bodies,



bodies, he and every one must not have heard some single instance? It is at once provoking and humiliating to have to notice such absurd trash.

From these opinions respecting the state of the universities, in which, as he insinuates, is seated the root of all the evils complained of, he proceeds, in the same strain of petulant invective, to animadvert on the usual mode of examination. He states his belief that there are few instances, in which a graduate who can procure testimonials to character, construe a chapter in the Greek Testament, and answer some questions from Grotius, may not succeed in procuring holy orders. He adds a facetious statement of the church having been deemed 'an hospital for incurables,' &c. (p. 26.) It is certainly true, that a liberal education, a moral character certified in a regular form, and a competent knowledge in the peculiar studies of the profession, ascertained by an examination of no great depth, do furnish the usual passport for holy orders; and we know not that any material alteration for the better could be made. It is also true, that the most learned, zealous, and judicious prelates, have followed this plan, without thinking that a greater degree of strictness would materially conduce to the interests of the church; and that notwithstanding this writer's expression, that 'so lax has become the examination for holy orders,' an expression well calculated to promote his views of degrading the clergy in public estimation—no greater laxity now prevails on this matter, than at all former periods. Ideas of theoretical perfection in the ministers of religion sound extremely well. But, when we come to consider the matter practically, we must descend into common life, and find what standard of clerical perfection it is possible for us to attain. On the subject of moral character and conduct, all must be agreed. On that of professional acquirements it must always be remembered, that competent information on the several topics, is all that can be expected from the general mass of the clergy. Deep and extensive erudition must, from the nature of things, belong only to a few. Surely this author himself will not seriously contend that a want of liberal attainments characterises our present clergy, or that general insinuations of gross ignorance are not palpably false.

We next advance to his representations of the character and conduct of the clergy. These are conveyed in language too rude and disgusting to be quoted at length. One or two passages will give our readers some idea of their general style.

He says, (p. 37.) that, 'as is too often the case, piety appertains to every species of worship, except our own—that the Methodists, &c. have none of that slovenly indifference which marks the conduct of so many of our own clergy'—

them betray an indifference of conduct, and a dissoluteness of manners, which is most shameful,' &c. Again, 'Is there a subject of public corruption and profligacy, the development of which does not discover its reverend associates and abettors?' p. 38. In the higher orders of the church, he tells us, 'we are too often obliged to witness a kind of negative virtue, which is removed but one degree from positive misconduct.' pp. 39. At pp. 68, 69, &c. are most false representations of the general manner of performing the church services, the neglect of rubrical duty, and the style of preaching. We are fully aware that he frequently qualifies his expressions by the terms 'many of the clergy,' 'in many instances,' and so forth; but this leaves, in full force, our general complaint of inflated and exaggerated statements, calculated and designed to excite very injurious impressions. However, he does not always exhibit even this appearance of qualification. At p. 109, we have 'A parochial clergy thus indolent and depraved.' And again, 'It is not to be wondered that the Church of England is now a scandal to religion.'

On expressions so coarse and indecent, it is needless to offer any remarks—except that they proceed from a 'professed friend to the Church!' We will, however, notice one or two of the features which characterise this sort of statement, in order to put the reader on his guard.

In the first place, these representations proceed on the assumption of a position admirably calculated to sanction calumny, and mislead opinion, viz. that it is always allowable to attribute to a whole order of men the faults of a few of its members. Let this be once assumed, and it is wonderful how much may be proved. By the same accurate and conclusive style of reasoning, our nobility may be styled gamblers; our lawyers cheats; and our soldiers poltroons. An excellent opening is thus made for every species of abuse and misrepresentation, of which those whose taste lies this way may take full advantage.

In the second place, these statements proceed on the representation of occasional practices, as regular and systematic habits. 'A fox-chace, an horse-race, &c. it seems, is never without its reverend attendants.' p. 39. Now what is the real force of this expression, and of an hundred similar ones which might be produced? If the inconsistency of such pursuits with the clerical character be maintained, they only prove, at the most, that some individuals, out of a large number, act improperly. If, on the other hand, it be granted that it is not positively reprehensible in a clergyman to indulge, occasionally, in some of these amusements, and that the fault lies in that excessive attachment to them, which causes the neglect of important duties; then the unfairness is more strikingly

ingly apparent, which represents practices of occasional occurrence as fixed and regular habits, sufficient to engross all the time, and to taint the entire character.

In the third place, it should be well remembered, that the many instances of regular and virtuous demeanour in the clergy pass unobserved, whilst every single instance of disgraceful conduct strikes the public eye, and is eagerly pressed on general notice. 'Do not,' says this civil declaimer, 'our courts of justice teem with their offences,' &c. &c. p. 38. Thus, if one or two individuals incur public censure, it is impossible to limit the sentences of general declamation which may be framed against the manners and conduct of the clergy at large. On the other hand, those who devote themselves to the meritorious discharge of their functions, remain unknown to all, except the small circle amongst whom they immediately converse. Their silent virtues, the retired graces of their character, are not obtruded on the public eye. No busy examiner into 'the state of the established church' expatiates on the strict propriety of their conduct, nor on their earnest endeavours to promote the happiness of all entrusted to their charge. That such instances exist, that they exist in great numbers, we are prepared confidently to maintain; and we are convinced that, if the delineators 'of the whole order' would take the trouble of comparing the number of those who do honour to their profession, with those who disgrace it, they would feel and acknowledge the marked injustice of the vague and comprehensive invectives usually thrown out against them.

There is another representation of the writer, on which we wish to remark, as unfair and unfounded. We mean the invidious comparisons between the ministers of the Established Church, and those of dissenting sects. 'The Methodist, the Roman Catholic, the Anabaptist, and the Presbyterian, have none of that slovenly indifference which marks the conduct of so many of our own clergy,' p. 37.—'The established religion was never more grievously neglected, forming, one may almost say, in every point of view, a striking contrast to the zeal and piety which marks the conduct of every one of the numerous sects with which the country abounds,' p. 5. We have no pleasure in casting imputations on others, but we cannot suffer such injurious comparisons to pass without notice. Many ministers of dissenting sects amongst us, have, no doubt, their virtues and their merits; but we are yet to learn on what ground their general character is to be fixed at so high a point above that of the Established Church. Are they to claim an exemption from those failings and vices which are so industriously marked, whenever they occur, in the regular clergy? Are they never actuated by secular motives, and views of worldly interest? If their zeal is to be the theme of panegyric, is it not,

not, in many cases, a zeal which commonly characterises the weaker party—a zeal founded on views of acquiring influence, and making proselytes, for purposes of secular advantage? Or, is it not frequently grounded in feelings of enthusiasm—feelings which have little tendency to generate sound practical piety, and even sometimes consist with very corrupt manners? Is not their ignorance frequently of the lowest description; their style of pulpit oratory such as to shock common sense? Is the Roman Catholic priest, in particular, to be admired (we speak generally) for the sincerity of his inward piety, in opposition to the cold formality of outward rites? We wish at all times to avoid the necessity of reflecting upon others; but, if the subject is forced upon us, we are bold to profess that, by whatever test the question be tried, the established clergy will gain by every fair comparison with the ministers of other sects, taken singly or collectively.

To what length, then, perhaps this writer may ask, are we disposed to go? Do we wish to contend that all accusations against the clergy are destitute of foundation? By no means: we readily grant that instances of indecorous conduct occasionally occur; and that cases of inattention and indifference are observable, which reflect much discredit on individuals. But we scruple not to affirm that the ministers of the Established Church, taken in their general character, are respectable for their attainments, decorous in their demeanour, and attentive to their duties. We will go farther, and state our belief that there never was a period in which the clergy were more characterised by sound sense, respectable behaviour, and rational piety, than the present. We believe too, that, within a few years, there has been a considerable increase of active zeal amongst them; caused, no doubt, in part by the necessity of resisting the invasions of ignorant fanatics. We speak not of that heated and intemperate zeal which places religion rather in mystical feeling than in sound morality; which, formed to catch the attention of the vulgar ever prone to the workings of enthusiasm, acts with a spirit of proselytism, and aids the purposes of schism; but of that more guarded zeal which, if less intense in its energy, is more sound in its principles, and more beneficial in its effects; which impels to an attentive discharge of all religious duties, and pursues the forward course of endeavouring to make men truly pious in their feelings, and practically virtuous in their conduct.

But it is not to the parochial clergy that this writer's animadversions are confined. The higher orders are blamed for suffering these things to be. 'The indifference, and often total ignorance of the higher orders of the clergy about the matter.' p. 43. Again, 'It is impossible that this would be the state of the church

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if the higher orders did their duty,' &c. p. 72. If he means to say that any possible vigilance in the governing part of the church could wholly prevent individual instances of indecorous conduct, he is completely mistaken. If he means to insinuate, that the conduct of the governing part of the church exhibits an unwillingness to make proper enquiries into the state of matters under their charge, and a backwardness to interfere on just occasions, we believe that experience will give a direct negative to his assertions. Scanty, indeed, must be his knowledge, if it have not supplied him with many instances of persons in the highest stations of the church, who unite, to great respectability of private character, and great extent of learning, a most zealous attention to the duties of their charge, an anxious desire to provide against abuses, and to promote, by precept, discipline, and example, the proper discharge of all important duties.

Our limits will not permit us to follow the author through his statement of the several causes of evil to the church, and his plans for removing them. We are the less anxious to do this, as we perceive little that has not been often produced before, or that evinces either sagacity, judgment, or competence to the subject. He complains of the facility of granting licenses to dissenting ministers, the distribution of preferments by private hands, the unequal division of church property, and the non-residence of the clergy. On the latter, he remarks, p. 42, with his usual flippancy, that Sir W. Scot's Bill was 'unwise, unnecessary, and impracticable.' He devotes one whole letter (p. 80) to the defence of tithes, and another (p. 94) to the subject of small livings, and the mode of augmentation.

He expresses himself feelingly alive to the injury which the Established Church is sustaining from the 'rapid and alarming' increase of seceders from its rites and offices, and professes an anxious desire to remedy the evil by the most effectual means that can be devised. The subject is certainly important, and deserves to be deeply considered.

Whilst human nature remains as it is, some difference of opinion on these interesting topics must always subsist. Where a free profession of religious tenets is tolerated, and where the spirit of proselytism is allowed to exert itself without restraint, there the variations of opinion and the division into sects will most abound. It is difficult to bring into comparison the present number of seceders from our church and that of former periods; but, undoubtedly, at no time since the reformation has the number been inconsiderable. Witness the publications of the several periods, teeming nearly as much with complaints of the alarming increase of dissenters as those of the present day. Witness also the political influence which history shews them at all periods to have obtained.

It is natural for us to see, in an exaggerated point of view, an evil which exists in our own days, and to suppose it greater than it has ever been. All matters of this kind, however, are subject to alterations. Particular opinions, feelings, and prejudices, become current, spread for a time, and afterwards die away. If the present be a period in which secession from the church has been on the increase, a time may come when, from causes equally unassignable, it may decline. We are unwilling to augur an increase to an unlimited extent, which will end in the downfall of the Establishment. We certainly cannot allow that any increased negligence of our clergy is productive of the evil; at the same time, we are fully sensible that an augmentation of zeal and activity on their part must ever furnish the most powerful means of checking and diminishing it.

Whatever we may think of the author's proposals for preventing the increase of dissenters, we differ from him very essentially respecting the means by which this increase will *not* be prevented. It most certainly will *not* be prevented by the plan which he pursues of degrading the regular clergy in public estimation, by exaggerating their faults, by dwelling with malignant pleasure on every topic of invective, and affixing, as stains on the whole order, instances of bad conduct, which, in exception to the general practice, occur in individual members.

Amongst the most important subjects connected with the increase of dissenters, is that of granting licenses to dissenting ministers in the manner now allowed by law. This is a subject which must be touched (if it ever be touched) with a very tender hand. Feelings and prejudices, of the strongest and warmest kind, are tremblingly alive upon it. Not only must we avoid the slightest violation of the genuine principles of a free toleration, but also every approach to it. At the same time, the case, as it now stands, is truly alarming. The lowest and vilest of human beings may commence gospel ministers at pleasure—may preach any absurdities when and where they please—if they fail of listeners in one place they may try their fortunes in another—the licenses do not merely supply ministers to existing congregations, they tend to create them. Successive swarms of teachers roam through the country, and feed, with a continual supply, that appetite for novelty, which prevails amongst the vulgar, in a manner the most favourable to their views. The matter, as we have already remarked, certainly deserves to be weighed with the most serious attention.

Another measure which calls for immediate notice, is some effectual augmentation of the stipend to the minister in those parishes where it is now too small to provide for the performance of the church

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church service, at least once every Sunday. In these circumstances, is it to be wondered, if the methodist preacher is successful, if schism and dissension spread, and the church loses its members? Whatever remedy be thought most advisable, it is evident that the existing evil is extremely striking; and that justice, and policy, equally call for some speedy correction. There remains another subject, which it is surprising that a government, well disposed to the Established Church, should have so long neglected. We allude to the want of accommodation in churches, for the inhabitants of large and populous districts. We will give this in the words of the author.

'This deficiency of churches must be apparent to every one. The parish of Mary-le-bonne alone is said to contain 60,000 inhabitants, while its church will not accommodate more than 900 persons. That of St. Pancras is in the same predicament. And many other instances, of the same sort, exist in the metropolis, and in various parts of the kingdom. On what ground this indispensable object has been so long postponed, or can be any longer delayed, I am at a loss to conceive. The plea of economy, on such a subject, can only be coupled with the most disgraceful hypocrisy. Shall a nation, possessing a public revenue superior to those of all the other states of Europe combined, have no part of it to bestow on that religion which is our safe-guard here, and our only means of happiness hereafter? Have we the means of enriching favoured families who want nothing, and can we found gaols, bridges, roads, barracks, &c. &c. and have nothing to spare towards affording the people at large the means of attending divine worship? p. 131, &c.

Unquestionably, if we wish the people to remain attached to the church establishment, we must give them the means of attending the church service. If we wish to check the growth of heresy and schism, we must not leave matters in that state which affords decided advantages to the dissenting interests over those of the church. Dissenters of all descriptions provide, without the smallest impediment, abundant accommodation for the most numerous congregations. To what then are we to attribute so striking an inattention? Has the existence of the evil admitted of doubt? Has it not been pressed with sufficient earnestness on the notice of our legislators? or have difficulties of any magnitude opposed the desired remedy? We most sincerely hope, that the wishes and expectations of the friends to the Established Church, on this subject, will not remain long disappointed; and that, as soon as circumstances permit, some effectual plan will be presented to the consideration of parliament.

ART. VI. *The Substance of a Speech delivered by Lieutenant General Tarleton, in a Committee of the House of Commons, on the Army Estimates, March 4, 1811. 8vo. pp. 56.*  
 London: J. Ebers, Bond Street.

THIS is no common pamphlet: criticisms we have had of all sizes, from the ponderous quarto down to the newspaper paragraph, on the policy and conduct of our present system of warfare in the Peninsula; but none of them have been recommended to our attention by circumstances of such weight and authority as those possessed by the work before us; the work, as the title-page informs us, of a senator and a soldier, of one who has himself commanded armies, (at least at home,) and who still boasts a share in our public councils; of Banastre Tarleton, Esq. M.P. for the town of Liverpool, Lieutenant-General of His Majesty's Forces, Colonel of the 21st Regiment of Light Dragoons, and Governor of the Fortress of Berwick upon Tweed.

But these are not the sole claims of this pamphlet to notice; not content with the effect which his eloquence and wisdom produced on the House of Commons, the gallant orator has thought it necessary to embody them in a substantial and imperishable form. This we collect, not from the mere circumstance of the publication, but from a preliminary notice, which, though consisting of nearly nine lines, contains but one grammatical error, and not more than two or three statements which can be fairly charged with either inaccuracy or obscurity.

We could have wished to give the whole of the gallant orator's speech in his own clear and well-chosen expressions; but this is not possible—we have not room to hang up a full length, and must therefore content ourselves with exhibiting a miniature, taken from the report of the debate in the Times of the 5th of March, but which we shall subsequently amplify and illustrate, from the fuller and more authentic source with which the Lieutenant-General has furnished us.

General Tarleton entered into a statement of the Continental war in which Great Britain was at this moment, and had for some time past been, engaged. He did this, he said, for the purpose of shewing that the means of this country were inadequate to the end, and that the contest must therefore terminate in destruction. In order to prove this, he, in a speech of great length, went over the whole of our expeditions to the Peninsula, and to Portugal, from the battle of Vimeira to the present hour, in which he endeavoured to shew that we had in the whole course of that time been playing a losing game, and that Buonaparte and Massena were *secretly laughing* at the folly and insanity of our present ministers. The first operation we had undertaken was to defend the Peninsula, the second was to defend Portugal, which having failed to do by suffering the enemy to take Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida,

Almeida, the third operation commenced by retreating before the enemy, for the purpose of defending Lisbon. Lord Wellington, after having gained the battle of Talavera, for which he had been rewarded by that House with their thanks, and for which his Majesty had conferred on him the dignity of Viscount, had the *very next day*, retreated, and kept continually since retreating before General Massena, till he had been driven within the lines of Torres Vedras. To these lines General Massena had followed him close, with not more than *two-thirds* of his army, which was represented by Lord Wellington himself as wanting every necessary, and yet he suffered him to remain close to him with a very inferior force for upwards of three weeks—and after doing so, to get *thirty hours* start of him and make good his retreat to Santarem, where he was so strongly entrenched, that he could not attack him without the greatest risk. There (at Santarem) Massena, as he said to his master, was supporting his army by resources drawn from Portugal alone, while Lord Wellington was obliged to feed his own army, the numerous Portuguese who had been induced to quit their habitations and go within the lines of Lisbon—and the whole population of that city—on resources drawn from England, Ireland, America—the Azores, and almost the whole world—we were even obliged to supply the army in Portugal with red port, which was infinitely worse than sending coals to Newcastle! The general concluded by saying, that he should not make any motion on the subject, nor object to the estimates now moved, but he thought it his duty to make the statement he had done.

From this sketch (*ex pede, Herculem*) our readers will form no very inaccurate idea of the scope and object of Lieutenant-General Tarleton's speech; and they, no doubt, will agree with us, that Liverpool is no less fortunate, in its military Mentor, than we endeavoured, in our last Number,\* to prove it to be in its politician and philosopher. We there expressed some surprise at Mr. Roscoe's abstinence from all notice of the Peninsular war—our wonder is now at an end, and the deficiency is at last amply and ably supplied. Mr. Roscoe, we find, aspires only to the direction of our foreign policy, and trusts, with the due courtesy of office, the war department to the judicious management of the Governor of Berwick.

It has been justly observed, that much of the original spirit of a picture or a poem is apt to evaporate in the process of subsequent correction, and that high finishing and minute accuracy are too frequently purchased by some diminution in the vigour, and if we may use the expression, the vehemence of the piece. This observation is, we think, peculiarly applicable on the present occasion; for though the work before us possesses many minute graces and highly wrought illustrations, which are not to be found in the above sketch, yet it must be confessed to fall somewhat short of it in strength;

and, to use a forcible expression, hardihood of assertion and argument. We are informed by some who had the happiness to hear the speech, that though both versions are in essentials sufficiently accurate, yet that, where there exists any difference, the newspaper appears to give a truer report than the more measured and ornamented eloquence of the pamphlet.

In some points, however, it is but justice to Lieutenant-General Tarleton to supply, from the latter, certain omissions which, on a comparison, we observe to have been made in the former, and particularly in those passages which evince feelings of a dignified and noble modesty, which at once do credit to the author and give interest to the work.

It is due to him to say, that he states, without reluctance or reserve, that 'in the discharge of his conscientious public duty, he does not arrogate to himself any superior degree of patriotism and military knowledge; he, with extreme candour, 'gives his Majesty's ministers credit for patriotic designs and virtuous motives,' and he professes that "though the laws of council bid his tongue be bold" he is sensible that he has not done justice to the great question which he has endeavoured to bring under the consideration of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom.' He does not, we see, absolutely and ostentatiously claim the merit of being the first and only person who has brought this great question under the consideration of the nation, but, with a becoming diffidence, leaves his hearers to draw this inference for themselves. He is so good as to say, that he does not mean 'in the narrative of the description' he is then giving, 'to criticise or attack Lord Wellington's military conduct—the time is not yet come, the documents are not yet arrived to enable him to form a complete judgment on the subject of the present campaign,' and he pleasantly and kindly adds, that he has introduced the name of the Commander in Chief, for the same reasons only that 'the names of Cato or Hamlet are introduced in the representation of those dramatic productions.' Some of our readers will perhaps observe a slight degree of confusion in the composition of this sentence; but all criticism of that kind must be completely subdued by a consideration of the indulgent forbearance which it evinces towards Lord Wellington—Lieutenant-General Tarleton is satisfied with introducing his *name*, when it is evident that the precedent which he quotes would have justified his insisting on his Lordship's coming over to defend his measures, in person; as, except in one famous but solitary instance, we believe the *persons* of Hamlet and Cato have been considered quite as essential to the representation of the drama 'as the introduction of their names.'

We find in one version of the General's speech, that he even had the

the affability to declare that he did not mean 'to enter into any rivalry with Lord Wellington,' and it is added that this declaration was received by the audience 'with a universal laugh.' This lively token of approbation must have been as flattering to the gallant orator, as it was mortifying to those bigots in military affairs who so obstinately insist on Lord Wellington's superior ability in the science and practice of war. But while we admire Lieutenant-General Tarleton, let us not be unjust to Lord Wellington,—it is to him no slight honour to be compared, even in a passing thought, with an officer of whom there is a very fine print representing him in the very act of drawing on his boots preparatory to taking the field; who has served in the distant and arduous command of a district in Ireland, who afterwards had confided to him the military care of Bath and Bristol, and the county of Somerset, and to whom is intrusted, as we have already hinted, the frontier citadel which protects Northumberland from the inroads of the Scottish invader.

It is now our pleasing duty to notice a few of those graces of composition which render this harangue so fascinating. We are struck particularly with the variety and splendour of imagery which adorn the following passage.

'They' (the ministers) 'conceive that a war upon the Continent will lessen the military power of Buonaparte, will protect our allies the Spaniards and Portuguese, and will delay, or ultimately defeat the invasion of the British isles; on the contrary, *I contend that such opinions, with our limited population, speaking comparatively of it with the population of Europe, will offer up, as unnecessary victims, the best soldiers of Britain; will not avail ultimately in the defence of our allies, as the integrity of British resources can alone give us present security, and, in a more remote degree, afford a point and a beacon of rally and redemption to the prostrate nations of Europe.*' pp. 8, 9.

This image of a 'beacon redeeming the prostrate,' and the novel use of the term 'rally,' appear to us amply to justify the gallant orator's confession of the 'boldness of his tongue:' bold, however, as the phrases are, we believe that we understand his meaning, and we cordially agree with him; that it must be in a very 'remote degree' indeed, that the system which he recommends could assist either in rallying or redeeming the nations of Europe.

Who can avoid sympathizing with his audience, when he says, of Sir John Moore, 'I hope the committee will pardon me, if I employ a few moments in giving a rapid sketch, yet faithful portrait, of this meritorious officer.'—We expect now that a panegyric is at hand; but General Tarleton is no such vulgar master of the art of emotion, and to our infinite delight and astonishment, we find that his feelings on this subject are altogether inexpressible, and that he

solaces his grief for the loss of Sir John Moore, with an animated effusion to the memory of General Wolfe. With great art, however, he afterwards unites these interesting subjects.

'Posterity,' he pathetically adds, 'in regretting the premature conclusion of such valuable lives, cannot fail to appreciate the marked *difference* which resulted from their deaths.—They both fought and conquered.—Wolfe executed the plan of the Earl of Chatham, and a victory gave England possession of Quebec and Canada; Moore was employed by these ministers,' (not, we suppose, Lord Chatham's cabinet,) 'and although he evinced genius, intrepidity, and constancy, which he sealed with his blood, his army embarked with a heavy loss and great difficulty, and' (here, of course, we expect that the parallel is to fail, and the marked *difference* to appear, but no) 'and the French forces have ever since been banished from the northern provinces of Spain.'

This, we believe, is one of the most striking instances of surprise ever effected by the art of an orator.—Expectation is excited in a particular direction; but, as Mr. Puff ingeniously observes of the Beefeater, 'one must not be too sure:' for a moment after we find that there is little or no difference between the subjects of the orator's comparison; both fought, both conquered, both suffered great loss, both were killed, and the French were banished, in both cases, out of the province which was the object of the contest.

In the same style, General Tarleton alludes to the siege of Lisle, in 1792, and the expedition to Walcheren in 1809; but we cannot permit ourselves to say more on these points, than that he evinces his deep historical reading by informing us that the former was conducted by Prince Eugene, and his accuracy in asserting, that the latter enterprize received the *thanks* of parliament, a fact of which we believe the public were, until it was vouched by the Lieutenant-General, in absolute ignorance.

Nor is his geographical knowledge, or the modesty with which he avails himself of it, less remarkable; for he observes that 'it would be superfluous to enumerate the different towns, villages, and mountains, which were occupied by the allies, or the rivers that were passed, between the frontier of Portugal and the neighbourhood of Coimbra, which stands almost in view of the Atlantic ocean.' Again, he says, with equal succinctness, and, we believe, with equal accuracy, that 'the map of the Peninsula shows the Pyrenees, the frontier of Portugal, and the French position at Santarem.' Of the two former facts, we were already aware; the latter, we own, is somewhat new to us, and we therefore rather regret that he has not, in a note at least, specified the map to which he alludes. On another occasion, however, he feels it indispensable to be more explicit on circumstances of locality,



cality, and, accordingly, he states to the House of Commons the singular fact of 'the contiguity of Woolwich to the water,' meaning, as we suppose, the river Thames, though the context would appear, in some degree, to justify an opinion that in the Lieutenant-General's map this arsenal is laid down on the sea-side, and opposite to some point of the shores of the Continent.

We feel that we are proceeding to greater length than even the merit of this work will warrant; but we cannot refrain from imparting to our readers General Tarleton's conjecture on the causes which led to the attack at Busaco. 'Some Portuguese had espoused the French side of the question, and it therefore occurs to me that the Gallo-Portuguese persuaded the French General to try, at all risks, an attack on the British and Portuguese when formed into one line.'

This is generous; this is noble. He will not insult over a vanquished enemy; he will not hurt the feelings of the beaten foe, by attributing either misconduct to him, or ability to our own commander; but finding, or rather fancying that there was in the enemy's ranks a poor Portuguese renegade, he dexterously charges all upon him; and a certain Marquis D'Alorno is the victim whom he decorates with Lord Wellington's wreaths, and sacrifices at the same moment to Massena's fame.

We are now reluctantly obliged to close our observations on this interesting performance. The Lieutenant General, like Calchas of yore, is not only great in council and the field, but also partakes the gift of prophecy. *Μάλης κακῶν*, like the ancient, he obviously is; our readers will probably console themselves with adding that he is also, at least in one sense of the words, *Μάλης κακῶς*. —He prophesied that the denunciations of the *Moniteur* were about to be fulfilled, and the English driven into the sea—that Lord Wellington's conduct 'must inevitably lead to disaster and destruction;' that 'a large proportion of the navy of England was soon to be employed to protect and receive the surviving combatants of the British army;' that 'Massena and his master were bringing to a close the downfall of British resources, and, with a fell and malignant joy, already contemplating a mortal blow against the vitals of our empire and our constitution.'

It has been, in all ages, the sport of Fortune to defeat the expectations and hopes of the best and wisest of mankind; can we then wonder that such has been her wanton malice in the present case? On the very evening of the 4th of March, at the very hour when the Lieutenant-General was opening these dreadful prospects to the trembling senate of England, Massena's resolution of retreat was taken, the French army began to feel the agitated dejection of a flight, the invaders were about to become the pursued, the future

conquerors were already defeated. Not even the eloquent despondency of Lieutenant-General Tarleton could predict for our army the terror, the disgrace, and the ruin which, at the instant he spoke, enveloped that of the enemy; and hardly had the press been delivered of the production of which we have endeavoured to express our admiration, when Lord Wellington's dispatches arrived to defeat the labours of the first, and blast the hopes of a second edition. We, however, are not so unphilosophical as to judge of merit merely by events; and we trust that our observations will have convinced General Tarleton at least, that the result of the campaign in Portugal has, in no degree, altered our opinion of his sagacity; and we doubt not that the country will be pleased to hear that he still preserves his spirit and his principles unshaken, and, like the patriot and philosopher of old, exclaims, amid the reverses of fortune,

Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni !

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ART. VII. *A Dissertation on the Characters and Sounds of the Chinese Language; including Tables of the Elementary Characters, and of the Chinese Monosyllables.* By J. Marshman. Printed at Serampore. 1809. 4to. pp. 116.

AT the commencement of our labours,\* we laid before our readers a circumstantial account of the state of the Baptist Missionary Society for the propagation of the gospel in Hindostan. We ventured to defend the proceedings of its members against the attacks of their opponents; to offer some apology for the quaintness of the stile in which their communications are usually made, and to reprobate the spirit with which they were examined. The writers were described as 'herds of low born and low bred mechanics,' whose minds were plentifully stored with 'the baseness and malignity of fanaticism;' and represented not merely as 'voluntary enthusiasts,' but as the most stupid of 'fools,' and most disordered of 'madmen.' Yet at the very time that these and more contumelious epithets were heaped upon them, those 'low born and low bred mechanics' had made themselves masters, not only of the various dialects spoken on the peninsula of India, but nearly of all the languages of Asia. They had completed a translation of the Bible into the language of Bengal; and, as we then observed, were printing the New Testament in most of the other languages and dialects of the

East, and, in four of them, proceeding with the Bible. It might have been expected, that a regard for talents and exertions, certainly of no ordinary cast, would secure the possessors of them against the shafts of ridicule; or, at least, that a feeling of compassion would operate in favour of a class of men who, even supposing them to be engaged by mistaken zeal in a work of supererogation, were actuated by motives purely disinterested; and had voluntarily sacrificed their ease, their health, their friends, and country, without hope of reward in this world, and with the certainty of encountering difficulties and dangers of no common kind. Of the merits of their labours, whether literary or religious, and those of their unprovoked assailants, it is not our business to enter into any comparison; we hasten therefore to the more pleasing task of examining the work before us, in the course of which we think it will be manifest, that the mind of one, at least, of those 'low born and low bred mechanics' is stored with something better than 'the baseness and malignity of fanaticism.'

Mr. Marshman, the author of the '*Dissertation on the Chinese Language*,' is a member of the Baptist Missionary Society, established at Serampore. Having acquired a considerable knowledge of most of the languages of the East, his attention, it seems, was turned towards that of China, the acquisition of which had hitherto been considered as a more arduous undertaking than that of all the rest united. His vigorous mind, however, soon broke through every obstacle, and, in less than four years, mastered this singular language so completely, as to enable him to translate a classical work, written more than 2000 years ago, examine two voluminous commentaries upon it, of more modern date, and, by the assistance of these and other original books, to compose the present *Dissertation*, which will be found as complete an introduction to the study of the Chinese language, as the *Eton grammar* is to that of the Greek.

The ideas of Mr. Marshman are communicated in so modest and unassuming a manner, and throw so much light on a subject, curious in itself, and but little understood, that we cannot deny ourselves the satisfaction of accompanying him through his '*Dissertation on the Characters and Sounds of the Chinese Language*'—'a language of which' he intimates that, 'the information communicated bears a stronger resemblance to a transient flash which serves merely to discover the size of an object, without conveying any distinct idea of its shape, than to that steady light which gives us an opportunity of contemplating it at leisure, and forming a just idea of its proportions.'—p. 1.

Nothing dazzled by these false lights, he has steadily proceeded in his investigation of the principles of the Chinese language,

as laid down in Chinese books ; the result of which is the full conviction, ' that, though totally different in its nature, it is little less regular in its formation, and scarcely more difficult of acquisition, than the Sungscrit, the Greek, or even the Latin language.'

Mr. Marshman soon discovered, that as words, in other languages, are formed by the combination of certain symbols termed letters, so are Chinese characters constructed by the union of certain imitations of the objects of sense. This, he says, brought to his recollection an observation by the author of *Hermes*. ' Every medium through which we exhibit any thing to another's contemplation, is either derived from *natural attributes*, and then it is an *imitation*, or from *arbitrary accidents*, and then it is a *symbol*—thus, the words *mountain* and *river*, which do not exhibit the least idea of these two objects, except by arbitrary association, must necessarily be *arbitrary symbols*; so also *characters*, intended as *imitations* of natural objects, may form the basis of *another* medium of communicating ideas totally different from the *symbolic* medium.'—' This,' adds Mr. Marshman, ' at once describes and defines the Chinese characters. They are *imitations of natural objects*, combined in a variety of forms, in order to exhibit things and ideas " to the contemplation of others." '—p. 6.

He now proceeds to the consideration of his subject, under the three following heads, on each of which we shall offer some observations.

1. Remarks on the Chinese characters.
2. The sounds or the pronunciation of the Chinese characters.
3. Remarks on the grammatical construction of the Chinese language.

1<sup>o</sup>. The system of the written language of China, complicated as it appears on a superficial view, turns out, in fact, to be extremely simple, and, when the characters are properly resolved into their constituent elements, and the knowledge of these previously acquired, is, it would seem, not only easy of comprehension, but possessed of advantages which are not to be found in any alphabetical language. The number of these elements amounts only to two hundred and fourteen, which are called by the Chinese *Tie-moo*, or mother characters, and sometimes *pou*, or ruling characters; but they have generally been distinguished, by the European missionaries in China, by the name of *claves* or *keys*. By the various combinations of these mother characters, or of one or more of them, with parts of others, are all the characters in the language produced. The importance, therefore, of acquiring a perfect knowledge of them, as the first step to that of the language, must be obvious: and, to facilitate this, Mr. Marshman has very properly

perly printed them, in two tables, in which they are arranged in seventeen classes, the number of lines in each element corresponding with the number of the class in which it is to be found. The name of each element is also annexed, and a small figure super-added, to denote the proper accent; next follows the signification, and at the end are figures expressing the number of characters classed under each element in a particular dictionary consulted by the author. Thus, at one view, the reader is presented with a complete synopsis of the whole language, and the system upon which it is founded.

‘Relative to the origin of these elementary characters, we are left wholly to conjecture. The invention of twenty-four elements which, void of meaning themselves, should yet constitute words, signifying by compact distinct ideas, has been esteemed so extraordinary, as almost to transcend the powers of the human mind. Whether this mode of expressing ideas, or the imitative adopted by the Chinese, be the most ancient, it is difficult to determine; but the latter seems more simple and obvious. However difficult it might be to invent and combine letters, so as to form words, to which ideas were to be affixed, it would be natural for a person, who wished to retain, or convey to another, the idea of an object, to trace, in some rude manner, an imitation or character which might, in his opinion, serve to represent it. This is evident, not only from the example of travellers and others unacquainted with the principles of drawing, but even from the practice of children, who, in their juvenile frolics, often amuse themselves in thus attempting to portray objects which forcibly strike their attention.

‘The first efforts of this kind would probably be made in delineating objects of sense, and principally those of sight; which, on examining the elementary characters of the Chinese, we find to be the case. Whether these imitations would bear any particular likeness to the thing represented, it is not easy to determine; that this might be the design of them is more than probable, but that the resemblance should, in many cases, be so exact, as of itself to demonstrate the object represented, is scarcely to be expected. Nor is any thing of this kind intended to be affirmed respecting the elementary characters. They are laid before the reader simply as such; and every man will judge for himself respecting any real or imaginary resemblance between

道 *too*, the head; 手 *shoo*, the hand; 心 *sin*, the heart;

口 *koo*, the mouth; and the characters by which they are represented.’—p. 11.

That the imitative mode of expressing ideas was antecedent to the invention of any alphabet, is, we believe, as certain as that the oral preceded the written language. If it were possible, notwithstanding all evidence to the contrary, that any doubt could be entertained

of the existence of letters among the Greeks in the age of Homer, it is at any rate manifest from the description of the shield of Achilles, that they were not ignorant of the art of painting—an art which, in its rudest state, can hardly be conceived to exist, without suggesting to the mind a train of ideas which must lead to something approximating to a written character. In fact, 'the practice of children in their juvenile frolics' is precisely what may naturally be supposed to take place among a people in a state of barbarism, or just entering on that of civilization. The imitation of the form of an object would serve as the sign for conveying the impression of the original to the mind. The rudest attempt of this kind, on record, is probably that of the Patagonians of St. Julien, who had no better mode of representing the ship of Sir John Harbrough, than by erecting poles in the midst of bushes. The wild Hottentots of Southern Africa have advanced a step beyond this; being in the habit of drawing, on the smooth sides of their caves, the figures of the animals peculiar to the deserts which they inhabit, together with representations of their persecutors, the Dutch boors, in a variety of postures; sometimes accompanied with lines and marks, intended probably to express number and quality. The painted roll of the Mexicans went yet farther: it conveyed to Montezuma a detailed account of the number, rank, and equipment of the invaders of their country.

In like manner, although, as Mr. Marshman says, 'we are left to conjecture' with regard to the history of the Chinese elementary characters, there can be little doubt that, originally, they were representations or outlines of sensible objects. All the Chinese philologists agree in this point; but they contend that such were not the first efforts to establish a written character. The broken and unbroken lines of *Fo-shee*, the founder of the empire, variously disposed in circles, squares and polygons, which constitute the most ancient of their records, the *Ye-king*, are considered by them as the original language of China; but as all attempts have failed, and among others, that of Confucius, to give any plausible explanation of this ancient record, the intention of it must be considered as doubtful.

With regard to the present characters, the most accredited of their historians, *Se-ma-t sien*, traces them back to the reign of *Hoang-tee*, about 2,500 years before Christ; at which assumed period their origin is sufficiently marked by a resemblance to the objects which they were employed to represent. Many of these have been preserved in successive editions of their ancient books, others on seals of agate, cups of serpentine stone, vases of porcelane, and a variety of articles collected as objects of taste. Several are contained in the letter of Père Amiot, addressed from Pekin to the

Royal



Royal Society of London. It there appears that ☉ originally represented the sun, which is now 日. The moon was ☾, now

月. The middle of any thing was expressed by 中, now 中;

a mountain was 山, now 山; a field 田, has un-

dergone little alteration, being still written 田; a sheep was

羊, now 羊; a mouth, 口, now 口; a chariot

車 or 車, now 車; a gate 門, now 門.

These instances are sufficient to shew, that Chinese characters were originally intended as so many signs of sensible objects, and that they 'bore a likeness to the thing represented.' For the individual objects, first selected to form the basis of the grand medium of communication, we must refer to the two tables of the elementary characters, where, as Mr. Marshman observes, we shall find that,

They include the most remarkable objects of nature, as the sun, the moon, a river, a mountain, fire, water, earth, wood, stone, &c.; the principal parts of a house; as well as those utensils most in use, as a knife, a spoon, (or chop-stick,) a seat, a box, a staff, &c. nor are the grand supports of life omitted, grain, pulse, flesh, fish, &c. nor the primary relations of life, father, mother, son, daughter, however difficult to be represented. We find not only characters to denote the body, but also the soul or spirit, as well as certain articles of worship. Qualities, though somewhat more difficult of representation, are not wholly omitted, although the elementary characters expressive of these scarcely amount to thirty; among which will be found however such as are most obvious to the senses, as straight, crooked, great, small, high, &c. To express actions by appropriate symbols would seem still more difficult; accordingly we find that this class is even smaller than the foregoing; a few however are admitted which signify the most common actions of life; such as, to see, to speak, to walk, to run, &c. Such then are the ideas represented by these elements, which, as they compose the other characters, may be justly termed the ALPHABET of the Chinese Language, or IMITATIVE medium of communication.' (pp. 12, 13).

Much

Much as we admire the ingenuity of this '*Imitative Alphabet*,' we cannot be blind to the defective and injudicious selection of the objects represented by the characters, the greater part of which, as we formerly observed, are but ill suited to a general classification of ideas under their respective elementary heads. No stronger proof of this is wanting, than the inequality, in point of number, of the characters arranged under each element. Thus while some are the roots or primitives of fourteen or fifteen hundred characters, others can boast only of two or three, and some of them in fact are exploded altogether.

It may not be unentertaining to the curious mind, to notice the *degree of proportion* in which these respective elements enter into the composition of the other characters. *Chou*, grass or vegetation in general, *soi*, water, and *mook*, wood, hold the first rank, the latter having 1232 characters into which it enters; *soi*, water, 1333; and *chou*, vegetation, no less than 1423. The elements which, next to these, receive the greatest number of characters, are those which represent the hand, the mouth, and the heart, the first standing at the head of 1012; the second claiming as its quota 983; and the third 956. *Nee*, the element for a woman, ranks next, standing at the head of 834; while *yun* that for a man, includes only 729; but *wy*, the element intended to denote reptiles, has underneath it a class containing 804. After these follow *gnu*, a word, which includes in its class 734; and *kyan* or *kyun*, gold, under which are placed 719 characters. See, the character for silk, or any thing fine and delicate, and *chok*, a bamboo, that notable instrument of government among the Chinese, claim each an equal number, namely 672. *Yok*, flesh, *san*, a mountain, *mook*, the eye, and *chok*, the foot, rank next, and include each of them somewhat more than 500 characters; as does *nieu*, the element expressive of a bird. The elements which represent earth, stone, disease, clothing, and jewels, contain each somewhat above 400 characters in their respective classes; as do *ma*, a horse, and *khin* a dog; while *yut* a day; *tou*, a knife; *chee*, a place; *mie*, rice; and *cheok*, motion, stand each at the head of somewhat more than 300. Thus, *thirty* of these elements, expressive of the primary objects of sense, enter into the composition of nearly *twenty thousand* characters, which probably constitute the better half of the characters included in the language.

'If some elements however enter into the composition of a *very great* number of characters, others will be found to have so few, as scarcely to entitle them to a place among the elements. The six characters which compose the class of one stroke beside being all obsolete, except *yut*, one, include together only 95 characters, and one of them only two. Among those consisting of many strokes, are to be found 40, the respective classes of which contain no more than 20 characters each, and some of them only ten; the whole 40 containing only 615. There are 20 others, which contain from 20 to 35 each; the aggregate amounting to 557. Thus *eighty-four* of these elements include, in the whole of their classes, only 1427 characters, which is but four more than the number placed under *chou*, vegetation, &c.' (p. 14.)

Hence

Hence it is evident that the effective elements amount only to about *one hundred and thirty*; and that the remainder occur in composition, nearly in the same, or even a less proportion than the letters *x* and *z* in the English language. This fact, which we consider as completely established, must afford considerable satisfaction to those who incline to study the Chinese language, especially when they are farther informed, that the whole, that is the useful and practical part of it, contains only about *thirty-five thousand* characters. For although, by the permutation of the 214 elements, the number might be extended almost to any amount; yet the introduction of a new character into common use is an innovation, which nothing short of the Imperial sanction can force upon the old establishment.

The language, then, being thus limited, the probability is that, in the operation of combining the letters of an European alphabet to form syllables, and the elementary characters of the Chinese to form compounds, the advantages will preponderate on the side of the latter; for this plain reason, that they are made up of significant or expressive elements, which is not the case either with regard to the formation of syllables or words in other languages. We are inclined, therefore, to agree with Mr. Marshman in supposing the Chinese characters much easier to acquire, than the Sanscrit alphabet, which has more than six hundred combinations of syllabic characters perfectly distinct; and we think it probable that a Chinese youth, thoroughly acquainted with the two hundred and fourteen elementary characters, stands on much higher ground, with respect to a *farther acquaintance* with the language, than an English one, who has mastered the syllables '*bla, ble, bli, &c.*' which Dyche has collected to the number at least of two thousand, and which, though destitute of meaning, are in reality the elements of the English language.' But though we admit the fact, we must protest against the aptitude of Mr. Marshman's illustration. If the elements of the English language are to be extended beyond the twenty-four letters of the alphabet, we should suppose that its significant monosyllables, especially those from Teutonic radicals, might take precedence of those combinations of letters 'which Dyche has collected,' and which, we hope, are in a state of rapid progress from the school-room to the grocer's shop. In point of fact, the English monosyllables significant of the 'objects of sense', are ten times more numerous than the significant elements of the Chinese language; and we can, therefore, see no reason why an English youth, employed in acquiring sense as well as sound, should not stand on an equality, at least, with one of China: but let us hear Mr. Marshman.

Unite, for instance, two of these syllabic elements, *bar* and *ber*.

These

These indeed form a word, which conveys a complete idea, namely, that of a man accustomed to shave, but disjoin them, and what assistance do they afford in guiding the mind to the meaning of the compound word,\* or even in recollecting it when known? this however is seldom the

case with the Chinese elements. If we take the character 剃 *thi*,

which denotes the man who shaves, or, more properly, the operation itself, we shall find that, although it might be difficult to guess the meaning of the word from merely viewing the elements of which it is composed,

刀 *ty*, the instrument, or the action of cutting, and 弟 *ty*, respect; yet when once known, these may assist the mind in recollecting the character by association of ideas. What is there again in the elements of the English word *burn*, which would either suggest the idea of fire, or enable a person to recal it when known, otherwise than by arbitrary

association? whereas in the Chinese character 焚 *fwun*, which

has beneath 火 *fo*, the character for fire, and above, the character

木 *mok*, wood, repeated, to denote a forest, it requires little la-

bour to recal the idea. The same may be said of 餓 *gao*, hun-

gry, composed of 我 *gao*, I, and 食 *suk*, eat; and of a thou-

sand others. The Chinese then, formed on the imitative plan, from significant elements, must possess advantages, with respect both to prior acquisition and subsequent recollection, which are found in few languages formed on the symbolic plan.' (pp. 201.)

Our readers may perhaps recollect that, in our review of the *Ta-tsing-leu-lee*, we explained the principles upon which the combination of the elements into compound characters is grounded; that we considered the plan as admirably adapted for the groundwork of an universal language, but marred in the execution; that the scarcity of the representations of general ideas, in the elementary characters, unfitted them for a systematic classification of objects; and that chance or caprice appeared to have led to the adoption of many of them. The luminous view which Mr. Marshman has taken of the subject, has confirmed us in our

\* Mr. Marshman has not stated this with his usual correctness. The component parts of *barber* are in fact significant, *barb-er*, the man of the beard,

opinion, while it completely dispels the illusion of an universal and philosophical character realized in the imitative system of Chinese writing, however nearly in theory it may appear to approach it. Still, however, enough remains of this ingenious fabric to excite our admiration, and to account for the extravagant notions entertained of it by Fourmont and others; who, relying on the vague and declamatory accounts transmitted by the French missionaries, assumed as a fact, that the knowledge of the elementary characters alone would lead to the meaning of their various combinations; or, in other words, constituted the knowledge of the whole language. This conclusion was drawn from a supposition that there existed a constant affinity between the signification of every compound character and that of its component elements. Mr. Marshman, indeed, tells us that this view of it once appeared so rational, as to make him, for some time, dissatisfied with the explanation of every character, in which he could not recognize the idea expressed by its elements. An examination, however, of the imperial dictionary of *Kaung-shee*, convinced him of his mistake. He found, it is true, the parts of every compound character accurately described, but was seldom gratified with an explanation of the meaning, as deduced from its constituent elements.

‘Indeed,’ continues he, ‘the nature of things seems to forbid our expecting this in the Chinese characters: for, not to say that a great part of this as well as other languages on the symbolic plan, *may have been* formed rather by chance than any determinate rule, the elements of the Chinese language are little more than two hundred, while the Greek roots exceed three thousand. Whoever considers, therefore, that variety of ideas which must necessarily be expressed—say by thirty thousand characters—will perceive that it is scarcely possible for the meaning of these, in every instance, to be clearly and distinctly deduced from the combination of only two hundred and fourteen primary characters, representing principally objects of sense. Not to add, with the ingenious Barrow, that the sense is sometimes so hid in metaphor, that though all the component parts of a character are well understood, the meaning may yet remain in obscurity.’ p. 23.

This is doubtless a fair and correct view of the subject. In many characters, the plain and obvious meaning arises immediately out of their component elements; there are others, again, whose signification may be guessed at from some remote affinity with one or more of them; but it is probable that the composition of the greater part can no longer be traced to the ideas which gave them

birth. In the character *koong* 英, a foreigner, for instance,

the

the component parts of which are 大 *ta*, great, and 弓

*koong*, a bow, the connection is not very apparent between the roots and the compound. Yet if it could be shewn that the first strangers who entered China, carried bows of a larger size than the natives, there would be nothing very absurd in supposing them to have denoted foreigners by this name. We have so many instances, in our own language, of words composed of significant syllables, whose meaning is yet not obvious, that we need not be startled on meeting with similar difficulties in the Chinese.

On a former occasion we exhibited so many examples (and many others are to be found in the *Meditationes Sinicae* of Fourmont, the *Museum Sinicum* of Bayer, Barrow's *Travels in China*, and the *Lun-ye* of Confucius) in which a close affinity is apparent between the compound characters and their elements, that we should not easily be persuaded to abandon this beautiful and philosophical part of the system. That it may have been carried too far, is very probable, and the French missionaries may in this, as in many other points, have exalted Chinese ingenuity to too high a pitch; but that it formed no inconsiderable part of the original plan upon which the written character was constructed, we have not only the testimony of the Chinese writers of all ages, but the more important evidence of our own senses. Were it necessary, indeed, we could offer a thousand examples, in all of which the compound ideas, expressed by the character, are distinctly produced from the simple elements. And if Mr. Marshman was disappointed in not succeeding in his analysis as often as he wished, by consulting the dictionary of *Kaung-shee*, we can venture to assure him that his expectations would have been amply gratified by examining a Chinese work on grammar and philology, called *Choue-ouen*. The imperial dictionary of *Kaung-shee* is to the Chinese precisely what that of Dr. Johnson is to us, 'a dictionary of the language, in which the characters are deduced from their originals, and illustrated in their different significations, by examples from the best writers.' It does all this completely, and it professes to do nothing more.

What we have stated will sufficiently account for the disappointment experienced by Mr. Marshman; whom we were not displeased to find acknowledging, in almost every example adduced, that 'the significant elements' might be traced in their compounds. Thus, he tells us, a district or division, composed of one hundred men, is *pak*

佰, a compound of *yun* 人, a man, and 百 *pak*, a hundred.



dred. *Mun* 問, to ask, which is composed of 門, *moon*, a door, and 口 *kou*, a mouth, may probably, he thinks, have some allusion to the idea conveyed; as may, also, 聞 *mun*, to hear, composed of *moon*, 門, a door, and 耳 *gnee*, the ear.

But *chun* 閤, to pass in and out, which is formed of 門 *moon*, a door, and *nee* 女, a female, 'could not surely, continues Mr. Marshman, suggest the idea of binding up the feet of the females from their birth, in order to incapacitate them for this motion in riperyears.' Again, the character 忍 *gnee*, to be displeased,

formed by *sum* 心, the heart, and *tou* 刀, a knife, placed above it, may, he thinks, allude to the pain occasioned by the sensation; and though it does not immediately follow that *wong*

枉, perverse, being composed of 王 *wong*, to reign, and

小 *sum*, the heart 'should be intended to intimate that the heart is perverted by ambition,' yet, in his opinion, even 'this association of ideas assists in recollecting the character.' We have taken at random the following compounds from the *Lun-ye*, which are at least 2000 old, merely to shew that the connection between the compound and simple ideas is not a modern invention; thus *ho*

尔, ease, comfort; a compound of 尔 *ho*, rice, and

口 *kou*, mouth. 天 *tien*, the material heaven, but more

frequently

frequently the deity, compounded of 大 *ta*, great, and 一 *ye* one; the great one. 節 *chee*, to govern, whose elements

are 竹 *tcheou*, a bamboo, and 艮 *tcheu*, a clapping noise, the stroke of the bamboo; a very expressive character to a Chinese. 驕 *kheu*, proud, haughty, is composed of 高 *keu*, high, and 馬 *ma*, a horse. We agree, then, with Mr.

Marshman, that

'To those who delight in tracing the operations of the mind, in different nations and ages, and in observing the various ways in which it combines the ideas, it will be entertaining to notice the association of ideas which must have given birth to the formation of many of these compounds; and while their quaintness may perhaps occasion a smile, the degree of connection observable in them forbids our thinking they could be formed entirely without design.' p. 25.

To assist the learner in the analysis of compound characters, several examples are given of such as consist of three, four, and more primary elements; and the difference is carefully pointed out between those which contain so many distinct and separate ones, and such as are compounded of parts that have been previously united, and assumed another name and meaning; of this

kind one example will be sufficient. See 詩, poetry, is com-

posed of 言 *gin*, a word, 土 *thoo*, the earth, and 寸 *chin*, a measure; but the two latter had previously been united in the character 寺 *chhee*, a temple; the real compound parts of

'poetry,' are therefore 'a word' and 'a temple.' On this account Mr. Marshman very properly cautions the learner 'how he attempts to derive the meaning from the smaller divisions of a character, rather than the larger.' p. 29.

The remaining observations on the mode of compounding characters will be found of the greatest use to the student. Indeed the

the principal aim of the author seems to be that of removing those difficulties by which it was supposed to be obstructed; of these, not the least was that arising from the immense number of characters required to be known by a proficient in the language. This number, according to the accounts of the French missionaries, was not less than 30,000. So formidable an undertaking was sufficient to repress the most ardent mind in the very outset of its studies, and, we doubt not, has tended to discourage many from attempting it at all. It turns out, however, an exaggerated statement, made without the least authority. Mr. Marshman took the trouble of ascertaining, by a careful estimate, the number of characters contained in *Kaung-shee's* dictionary, and he found them not to exceed 35,000, many of which were synonyms. This number, then, may be assumed as the full amount of the *effective* characters in the Chinese language, which cuts off at once more than half of the labours of the student; and even of this half, one third is more than sufficient for all the common purposes of business. Five thousand characters, indeed, made up of significant elements, each comprehending a distinct and complete idea, must be equivalent to at least 10,000 of our words, a number which exceeds what is required in the ordinary occupations of life.

The generally received opinion, then, is erroneous, that the characters in the Chinese language are more numerous than the words in other languages. Scapula's *Lexicon* contains about 44,000 words, Ainsworth's *Dictionary* more than 45,000, exclusive of nearly 10,000 proper names, and Johnson's *Dictionary* full 45,000. To shew how few characters are necessary to compose a work, on any particular subject, we may observe that the whole of the text of the *Ta-tsing-leu-lee*, consisting of more than 100,000 characters, does not, actually, comprehend more than 1,860 different ones. This also appears to be the case with regard to the work of Confucius, translated by Mr. Marshman, in which we should guess the number of distinct characters not to exceed 1,000. The construction of the language is extremely simple, and infinitely less difficult than the Sanscrit, of which, we are told by the author, he has done little more than digest the elements, after a diligent labour of seven years; whereas, in the course of four, he acquired a very competent knowledge of the Chinese, the syntax of which he found so easy, that the attainment of about thirty prepositive and auxiliary characters put him in possession of the whole grammar.

Mr. Marshman has taken some pains to collect information respecting the dictionaries of established reputation in China. The earliest work of this kind, which is still appealed to as high authority, is mentioned, in the introduction to the *Imperial Dictionary*,

as a compilation made by the learned under the direction of an Emperor of the family of the *Han*, which mounted the throne nearly 200 years before the Christian era. Six other compilations of this kind were edited at successive periods, each containing corrections and improvements of that which immediately preceded it, and such additions as were made to the language in the intervening periods. The last work of this kind is the Dictionary of *Kaung-shee*.

'In this dictionary are the forms, the names, and the different senses of the characters defined and supported, with a fulness and precision, which scarcely admit of improvement. The arrangement too is so simple, and yet so perspicuous, that one, totally unacquainted with the Chinese characters, may, in a few hours, make himself master of it with perfect ease. The only desideratum to the study of the Chinese, is a translation of this dictionary; and in this, nothing is necessary beside merely rendering it into English in the order in which it lies: it being, in my opinion, almost impossible for an European to alter it to advantage.' p. 108.

Here, then, is an excellent opportunity for the Directors of the East India Company to shew their regard for the interests of science, and to repel the charge of neglect which has sometimes been brought against them on that score. From the delight which Mr. Marshman appears to feel in the study of the Chinese language, 'a study,' he observes, 'which connects so much pleasure with the labour, that it will probably never be relinquished but with life;'—we should select him, of all mankind, for such an undertaking. It would require but a small degree of encouragement to prevail on so zealous and industrious a student, to engage in such a cause; and, if we may judge from the great number of characters contained in the present 'Dissertation,' and from the neat and accurate manner in which they are executed, the work might as well be carried on at Serampore as in London. Such a translation would supersede the projected dictionary by Messrs. Langlés and De Guignes, from the characters collected by Fourmont; and a well-timed liberality on the part of the East India Company, would thus confer on England the credit of giving to Europe a work of unquestionable authority, free from those spurious characters and forced explanations, which are foisted into all the manuscript dictionaries compiled by the French Missionaries.

2. We now come to that part of Mr. Marshman's book, which treats of 'the pronunciation of the Chinese characters,' which are not, as some have erroneously supposed, addressed to the eye alone, but have each a name. Were this indeed not the case, it would be a language fit only for the Abbé Secard's academy of mutes.

Many

Many of the characters have, it is true, the same name, and hence the pronunciation of them is liable to some ambiguity; less, however, than might be supposed, from the great disproportion between the number of characters and words, the former being to the latter at least as twenty to one. Here then a question naturally suggests itself—Since the Chinese have no knowledge of an alphabet, how do they acquire the *name* of any new or unknown character which presents itself? The fact is, that the Chinese *have* an alphabet; a regular series of characters, set apart, and employed almost exclusively, as marks of sound—an alphabet simple in its construction, effective in its operation, and capable of being extended to the formation of as great a number of words, as are to be found in any language whatever: an alphabet intricately interwoven with their ‘imitative characters;’ and by the aid of which, new sounds are conveyed to all parts of the empire, and both new and old transmitted from one generation to another.

The sublime invention of an alphabet, by which the figure or representation of an idea was presented to the eye, while the sound of it reached the ear, and both, by means of the one and the other, conveyed with equal perspicuity to the mind, has always been considered so wonderful in its nature, and so powerful in its effects, as to transcend the utmost stretch of human intellect. Yet, unless we are mistaken, the construction of the Chinese alphabet will shew, that its invention might have been, and probably was, the happy thought of some individual. This may be deemed a bold assumption, when it is recollected, that, after every research, the common conclusion has been—that the invention of an alphabet is of divine origin. But—*nec deus intersit*—why should we call in supernatural aid, where the powers of the human mind seem adequate to the necessity of the case? Conceiving then, as we do, that the close connection which subsists between the Chinese characters and their alphabet, now first brought into open day by Mr. Marshman, will throw very considerable light on the transition from hieroglyphic to alphabetic writing, we bespeak the indulgence of our readers, while we endeavour, briefly, to notice the cause to which the failure of former researches may be attributed; and to explain in what manner an alphabet may have derived its origin from hieroglyphic characters.

The great obstacle in the way of those who have engaged in this inquiry, was their ignorance of any living language constructed on the imitative system. Their only resource lay in the few detached fragments of ancient inscriptions, which, though put together with the nicest skill, were still found too imperfect to connect, in one unbroken chain, the written hieroglyphics of former times, with the alphabets of modern Europe. Egypt was the only

country in the western hemisphere, likely to supply the deficient link in the chain. Its magnificent temples, its catacombs, pyramids, and obelisks, most of them exhibiting, in their numerous inscriptions, the remains of ancient learning, and all of them, the imperishable monuments of ancient greatness—those stupendous fabrics, of which the age and origin are placed beyond the reach of probable conjecture, could not but excite the attention of mankind and raise an anxious desire to develop the signification of those mysterious records. But all the explanations, from the days of Orus Apollo to Abubekr Ben Wahshih,\* are so unsatisfactory, and contradictory, that their tendency is rather to perplex than elucidate. With such materials it is not, therefore, surprising, that the endeavours of modern writers should have failed to trace, in a satisfactory manner, the passage from those unknown symbols to the letters of the alphabet. Long, indeed, before any inquiries appear to have been instituted, the hieroglyphics of Egypt had ceased to be connected with any living language, and were consigned wholly to sacred purposes; they had become the instrument of priestcraft, to preserve the mystery of the profession from popular knowledge and encroachment.

It is highly probable, however, that the mysterious inscriptions on those magnificent obelisks, were not originally, as Warburton conjectured, subservient to the sacred rites of the priests, but, on the contrary, were, like the Chinese characters, the universal language of the country; an opinion, in which the ingenious President De Brosses† fully concurs. Why, he asks, should they have exposed to the public eye, inscriptions which the public could neither read nor comprehend? At the same time it is certain that, so early as the age of Herodotus, hieroglyphics had ceased to be the language of Egypt, and that the knowledge of them was confined to the Hierophants. Another language, perhaps, had already superseded their use, when Cadmus carried the sixteen letters of the Phœnician alphabet into Greece, or at the still more early period when Moses quitted Egypt; as, almost immediately after that event, and before the delivery of the two tables on Mount Sinai, he was commanded, on the discomfiture of Amelek, to 'write this for a memorial in a book.' This, then, being the earliest mention of writing on record, and contained in the most ancient as well as the most authentic, of histories, it would now seem a hopeless undertaking to ascertain, at what time alphabetic writing took place of hieroglyphics in the western

\* *Ancient alphabets and hieroglyphic characters explained*; written in Arabic about 1000 years ago, found at Cairo, and translated by J. Hammer, secretary to the Austrian mission at Constantinople—a curious book, and deserving to be better known.

† *Traité de la Formation Mécanique des Langues.* Tom. 1.



world, or by whom the former was invented. The important link which connects them, is irrecoverably lost; and we gain very little, in the pursuit, by being told that the Greeks gave the name of alpha to their first letter, because it was the Phœnician name of an ox; and that the Hebrew *aleph* is supposed to resemble the head of that animal, in imitation of which the small alpha *α* of the Greeks is still preserved. Admitting that all the letters in the Phœnician, Egyptian, and Greek alphabets, were originally significant of sensible objects, or of the hieroglyphics for which they were substituted, the knowledge of such a fact could not, in the smallest degree, advance the present inquiry, or explain in what manner, and upon what principle, the passage from the former to the latter was effected. In the work of *Abubekr Ben Wahshih*, above-mentioned, there is an alphabet of this kind, called *Shimshim*, the whole of which appears to be taken from hieroglyphics; but in this, as well as in all others, the link which connects the objects of sight with those of sound is wanting.

Since, then, the old world has, in vain, been ransacked to elucidate this curious subject, let us turn to a new quarter of the globe, where a living language exists, constructed, like that of ancient Egypt, on imitations of sensible objects; a language, used by two hundred millions of people, and intelligible by nearly one third of the human race. Much as the French missionaries have written on this subject, they have afforded but little information on that part of it, which is perhaps the most interesting, the connection between the characters and the system of sounds. One of these gentlemen, indeed, has given us a laboured essay on the passage of hieroglyphic to alphabetic writing,\* in which, although he clearly points out several approximations made by the Chinese towards an alphabet, he asserts, in distinct terms, that they have not in the course of 4000 years reached that invention; or rather, (as he continues,) 'have been too wise to descend to the adoption of one.' The late Sir George Staunton was of opinion that the intercourse of two nations, having distinct hieroglyphic characters, would lead to the invention of an alphabet, each marking, in the sounds of its own characters, the names of foreign objects, merely as notes of sound, and divested of their usual signification. At Canton, for instance, where the English language, or a jargon of it, is spoken by all nations, 'a vocabulary has been published of English words, in Chinese characters, expressive

\* *Essai sur le passage de l'écriture hiéroglyphique à l'écriture alphabétique, ou sur la manière dont la première a pu conduire à la seconde, par M. Cibot. Mem. Chin. Tom. 8.*

merely of sound, for the use of the native merchants, who, by such means, learn the sounds of English words.'

We have only to observe upon this passage, that, although an intercourse of one hundred and fifty years may have produced a vocabulary, it has failed to produce an alphabet. All foreign appellations, being designated by as many distinct characters as they contain syllables, it is obvious that, in proportion as the vocabulary is extended, will the principle of an alphabet be departed from, which consists in a small selection of marks or letters, whose combined sounds are applicable to the words of all languages.

But it will naturally be asked, why the Chinese at Canton, if in possession of a regular alphabet, continue to write foreign names in the common characters, instead of employing their selected alphabetical ones? We shall probably be able to explain this seeming difficulty. There are only four general descriptions of people in China—the men of letters—the peasantry—the artificers—and traders—the last of which stand the lowest in public estimation; yet, it is with these only, and the rabble of Canton, that foreigners are admitted to any intercourse; and when we add, that even the learned appear not to have extended the use of their alphabet beyond that of ascertaining the precise sound of the characters in the dictionaries, it may reasonably be presumed, that the vulgar are ignorant of the existence of an alphabet altogether. Besides, every syllable of a foreign word would require, as we shall presently see, *two* alphabetic characters to denote it, whereas *one* common character employed for its sound only is sufficient for each syllable, a convenience which, to a merchant, may be deemed of some importance.

It remains to explain in what manner, according to our ideas, the Chinese alphabet may have been derived from their hieroglyphic characters. We have already endeavoured to shew that the elementary characters were, originally, imitations of sensible ob-

jects; that the sun was represented by ☉, and the moon by

☾, which, by a general system of reducing all circular or oval, to straight and angular lines, became 日 and 月. We also ex-

plained by what means all the characters of the language were produced from the union of two or more of the 214 elements. Let us now suppose, what we conceive may very naturally have happened, that, among other combinations, that of the two characters *sun* and *moon* occurred to form a third, which was meant

to express the idea of *splendour* or *brilliancy*, thus 明明. It is possible that the signification of this new compound would, from habit, occur to a Chinese, on mere inspection: if, however, an explanation of its meaning was thought necessary, it would easily be communicated by a periphrasis of some well known and established characters, as those two, for example, which signify *great* and *light*. But it was also necessary to give a *name* to this new compound. According to their system, it might take the name of either of the elements or some other, different from both. We will suppose that the inventor at Peking chose to call it *ming*, a sound of which a second person could not form the slightest conjecture, as it bears no affinity either to the name of the sun, which is *je*, or to that of the moon, which is *yué*. How then is he to communicate his intention to a person at Canton? how cause the name of *ming* to pass current, as significant of *splendour*, throughout China? To effect this must certainly, in the first instance, have required intense thought and long reflection; or, one of those lucky hits which sometimes flit across the imagination, and lead to the most important results. In either case, the process was probably something of this kind. The inventor would look for some character among those already named, the pronunciation of which approached nearest to the sound of *ming*—we will suppose among the elementary characters. In casting his eye over the list, it would not escape him, that the character *moo* had the same incipient sound with the new character *ming*, and that the same position and movement of the lips were required to pronounce both.

*Moo* 木, *wood*, then, being an established elementary character, might be selected to supply the initial sound of the new compound *ming*. In pursuing his search among the elements, the

word *ching* 青 *blue*, another character already known and named, could not fail to strike the ear as being symphonious with *ming*; nor would it be very difficult for such a person to conceive that if the sound of *m* (which to pronounce require the lips to be closed) was substituted for *ch*, (which could only be uttered with the lips open,) or, in other words, if the initial sound of *moo* was united with the final sound of *ching*, there would be produced the exact sound of the new compound character *ming*; and thenceforward the initial sound of every monosyllable in the Chinese language, whose pronunciation required the letter *m*, would be indicated

cated by the character *moo*, and the sound of every word, ending in *ing*, by the final character *ching*; and these two characters, *moo* and *ching*, whether in their present, or in a more convenient form, would become, to all intents and purposes, two letters of an alphabet.

From the operation we have been describing, a series of sounds might be selected, out of the characters already named, to answer every exigency. Nothing farther, indeed, was necessary for conveying the sound of any new character, than writing after it two of the selected characters, whose initial and final sounds would make the sound required; which is precisely what is practised in all the Chinese dictionaries. If, then, by proceeding in this manner, the Chinese have been able to construct a series of simple sounds, of a limited number, and permanently fixed, by which the names of all their characters and the words of other languages can be written; if, by means of their own imitative characters alone, and without any foreign aid, it shall be found that they have actually done this, the discovery of an alphabet is complete, and the great problem solved. The same kind of proceeding is equally applicable to the derivation of that alphabet, to which those of the western world are indebted for their origin, immediately from the Egyptian hieroglyphics; and all this may have been effected by a simple and natural process, without the 'interposition of divine aid.'

Whatever may have been the precise mode of proceeding, the simple fact is, that the Chinese are in possession of an alphabet, constructed on the principle described. It consists of thirty-six selected characters, whose names supply an equal number of initial consonant sounds; and of twelve other chosen characters, furnishing the same number of final sounds. By the several combinations of these initial and final characters, are produced 432 simple monosyllabic sounds, which, in fact, are the total number of syllables in the language; but, as those few sounds, when distributed among 35,000 characters, would occasion endless ambiguity, the sounds of the finals have been variously modified, so as to increase the number of original syllables in the language to 846; and these again, by the application of accent and quantity, are extended to 2,178, as will be seen more distinctly hereafter.

The system of the Chinese alphabet is explained in the introduction to the Imperial dictionary, by twelve tables; those selected characters representing initials, being ranged across the head of the page, and those exhibiting the finals, in a column down the margin: and at the angle, formed by lines drawn from any two of these, is placed a well known character, harmonizing in sound with that which is produced by the union of the initial and final characters.

characters. This arrangement corresponds with that of the figures in a common multiplication table; for example,

## INITIALS.

Finals		P-ong	Ph-ong	M-ing	Ts-ing
	K-an	pan	phan	man	tsan
	K-ou	pou	phou	mou	tsou

where it will be seen at once that the initial of *p-ong* united with the final of *k-an*, make *pan*; *ph-ong* with *k-an*, *phan*; *m-ing* with *k-an*, *man*, &c. Mr. Marshman has, in this way, constructed four tables, containing all the syllables which can possibly be formed from the alphabet, and which constitute, in fact, the whole of the spoken language of China.

The thirty-six initial sounds are distributed into nine classes or series, and when expressed by the letters of our alphabet, stand as under:

1. K. Kh. K. Gn.
2. T. Th. T. Ng.
3. Ch. Chh. Ch. N.
4. P. Ph. P. M.
5. F. Fh. F. M.
6. Ts. Tsh. Ts. S. S.
7. Tch. Tchh. Tch. Sh. Sh.
8. Y. H. Y. Hh.
9. L. Y.

It will be observed, that the third letter in each of the series of initials is precisely the same as the first, and that several others are repeated. The alphabetic characters, however, are all different, and a distinction is therefore probably made by the Chinese in their sound. If, as is probably the case, the difference amounts to little more than a mere refinement, the real consonant sounds will be reduced to twenty-four, which is the number in the Sanscrit alphabet, exclusive of the ten aspirated consonants. Our author suspects the second *k*, in the first series, may approach to the sound of *g*, the second *t* to that of *d*, the *p* to *b*, &c. Supposing this to be the fact, 'let any one,' says he, 'refer to the Sungscrit alphabet, and he will perceive that they are the identical series contained in that alphabet, more imperfectly executed indeed, but sketched perhaps with greater boldness and more precision of design.' We are not inclined to lay much stress on this apparent similitude, nor do we think that such a coincidence, 'though scarcely to be paralleled in any other two languages, not derived from each other,' will warrant the inference which, we are aware, will be drawn from

from it, by some of our ingenious countrymen in the East. The affinity of the Burman to the Sanscrit alphabet, and of the Tibetan and Siamese to that of the Chinese, might be expected from the relative situation of the respective countries. But the deductions of comparative etymology are so frequently fallacious, even between polysyllabic languages, that little dependance can be placed in conclusions drawn from the consonance of syllables, much less from the letters of two alphabets.

'Relative to this coincidence between the Sungscrit and other Indian alphabets, and the Chinese system, I do not offer any opinion, as I have no hypothesis to support; my only wish is simply to state facts, as far as they have come to my knowledge. I leave it to the learned to determine, whether the outline of the Sungscrit alphabet was derived from the Chinese initials, or the latter from the former; or whether they originated independently of each other.'—p. 43.

We are convinced that Mr. Marshman has 'no hypothesis to support;' but as, from the hints he has thrown out, we anticipate much ingenious speculation, from the Literary Society of Bengal, we are unwilling to pass hastily over this part of the subject, persuaded that the more closely the language, the literature, and other circumstances relating to the Chinese shall be investigated, the stronger will be the conviction, that these people are the unmixed branch of a primitive nation, speaking an original language, written in a character exclusively their own.

We cannot, then, perceive the smallest necessity for reducing ourselves to the alternative proposed by Mr. Marshman. The truth is that, by his own account, the first four series only agree with the Sanscrit, the remaining five being essentially different: but were the fact otherwise, we see nothing very remarkable in such a coincidence. The capacity of man for uttering consonant sounds is so very limited, that we shall probably not err much in considering all the known alphabets in the world, as substantially alike. Divest them of their refinements, make allowance for the different employment of the organs of speech in pronunciation, and for the convertible sounds of *d* into *t*, *b* into *v*, &c. and little difference will be found in the powers of the simple alphabetic sounds, in use among different nations.

If, however, the alternative should be forced upon us, from the similarity of arrangement in the first four series in each alphabet, (which we admit to be a strong circumstance in favour of a previous intercourse,) we shall still have no hesitation in saying, that the Hindoos were the borrowers, and not the Chinese. We can conceive in what manner the letters of the former might have been abridged from the characters of the latter; but we can form no distinct idea how a Chinese character could be constructed from  
the



the materials of which the Sanscrit letters are composed; still less how the sounds of the Sanscrit alphabet could be transfused into 35,000 Chinese characters, each of which, it is to be presumed, had already a name. Had the Chinese found it necessary to borrow the *sounds* of the Sanscrit alphabet, they would also have borrowed those simple *letters*, of so tempting a name,\* instead of adopting the complicated and inconvenient characters now employed to express them. We might expect also that, while they were borrowing, the Hindoo system of numerals would have presented themselves, as particularly useful to a trading nation which had none of its own. Besides, we find that the Chinese alphabet 'exhibits a degree of refinement which seems unknown even to the Sungscrit grammarians;' nay farther, that it forms 'the most extensive consonantal system which the human intellect has produced.' It is certain, then, that the Hindoos could not supply the Chinese with what they never possessed; while the Chinese alphabet would suffice to express even the most tremendous of the more than sesquipedalian compounds, which occur in the Sanscrit. In fact, the two languages are totally different; they have no points of resemblance or analogy; they cannot, by any etymological contrivance, be brought even to approximate.†

The statement of a few simple points of comparison may probably lead us to the right conclusion with regard to the question of precedence, in the arts of civilized life, between the Hindoos and the Chinese. We find the latter, then, to possess a connected series of written annals, carried back more than 4000 years, in an uninterrupted succession; whatever doubt may be thrown on the first 2000 years of this period, none can reasonably exist with regard to the remaining part; while the latter have not a single page of history, not the record of an event which they can verify. A few dateless inscriptions on stones, (records chiefly of grants of land,) and the testimony of Grecian, Persian, and Chinese history are the best, we might almost say, the only evidences of their antiquity as a nation.

The Chinese have a regular system of chronology, for referring all physical and political events to their proper periods, by means of a cycle of 60 years, which serves, at the same time, to regulate the inequalities of the lunar and the solar year. The Hindoos are in possession of the same cycle of 60 years, but they

\* *Devanagari* 'the letters of the gods.'

† We recommend Mr. Marshman to procure the Chinese treatise 'On the Origin of the Sanscrit Language,' written about the 1020th year of the Christian era; and also that of the Emperor *Kien-Lung*, composed in 1749, on the Sanscrit, Thibet, and Mongul languages, translations of which would throw much new light on the language and literature of the Hindoos. According to these it would appear that India was in a state of barbarism about 1000 years before Christ.

seem to have no knowledge of its application, either to chronological or astronomical purposes; even their genealogies are without date. The truth is, they have no more of chronology than of history; thousands of years are confounded with millions, and both are lost in the immensity of their *manwataras*, or rounds of time.

The Chinese have been able to transmit to posterity their history, laws, and institutions by means of the art of printing, which appears to have been in use before the Christian era. The Hindoos neither discovered, nor adopted this art. Their literary treasures were confined to manuscripts which, being solely in the possession of Brahmins, were at all times liable to forgeries and interpolations. These have, in fact, been proved upon them to a very great extent. The boasted antiquity of the Vedas and Puranas has recently received a severe shock; it having been shewn, we had almost said proved, that the date of the latter ought not to be carried back beyond seven centuries.\*

The Chinese have a systematic dictionary of their language, which, though published before the Christian era, is still referred to as high authority;† and this language is very generally understood throughout the empire. In India, the 'learned pundits' alone have any knowledge of the Sanscrit. The people were always carefully debarred from the mysteries which it enveloped.

The Chinese are in possession of a code of laws, founded on good sense and practical wisdom; a government which professes, at least, to protect and punish impartially the prince and the peasant. Their lands are held by a sure and moderate tenure, the system of taxation is peculiarly mild and proportioned to every condition in life. Their ancient religion was too simple to continue long; its only object of worship being the invisible deity, and its only organ, the sovereign; they, therefore, borrowed from the Hindoos, (the only thing perhaps they ever did borrow from them,) a religion more complicated and, on that account, more suited to vulgar understandings. But what is the case with regard to Hindostan? It is summed up, and we think, fairly, in the words of a modern geographer. 'Not one rule for the conduct of life, not one discovery generally useful to mankind, can be traced to that celebrated and miserable country, where passive millions drag a feeble existence under the iron rod of a few crafty *castes*, amidst a climate and a soil almost paradisiacal, and where it seemed impossible for

\* Mr. Bentley's very excellent paper in the 6th vol. of *Asiatic Researches*.

† The *See-ouen*, compiled under the dynasty of the *Han*, a work which is constantly quoted in the Imperial Dictionary of *Kuang-shee*, and which, according to Mr. Marshman, 'must be nearly two thousand years old, and probably the most ancient dictionary at present extant in any nation.'

human malignity to have introduced general degradation and distress.

We feel the more disposed to mark the great difference in the moral character and political circumstances of the two nations, on account of the attempt which has been made to prove the descent of the Chinese from the Hindoos, an attempt, however, which rests on no better authority than the assertions of 'learned pundits,' and a text of Menu (probably a supposititious one) which includes the *Chinas* among those of the *Cshatriya* or military caste, 'who abandoned the ordinances of the Veda, and lived in a state of degradation.' With all possible respect for the talents and ingenuity of the distinguished scholar,\* who adopted this opinion, we must be excused for doubting a conclusion so gratuitous. We cannot pay the least regard to the 'assurances of the learned pundits' of Bengal, 'that the *Chinas* of Menu settled in a fine country to the north-east of Gaur, and to the east of Camerup and Nepal; and that they had seen old Chinese idols, which bore a manifest relation to the primitive religion of India, before Budha's appearance in it.' Those 'learned pundits,' grossly ignorant of the history of their own country, are not, in our judgment, the best authority for illustrating that of another. We pretend not to determine in which of the fourteen regions of beatitude, or of the holy places of Vishnu, a line drawn 'north-east from Gaur' will meet another line drawn 'east from Camerup and Nepal,' but we are quite certain that, if by Gaur be meant the kingdom of that name to the S. W. of Cabul, two such lines could never, by any human possibility, intersect on the surface of our globe; and consequently those degraded and unfortunate *Chinas*, travelling in search of that point, would find 'no resting place' on this nether world. The line of 'north east-from Gaur' might conduct them into Russian Tobolsk, but would never guide them to China.

As to the 'old idols,' these were in truth Budha's own gods, and perfect strangers to the Chinese for a thousand years after the pretended emigration of the *Chinas*, according to the text of Menu.† But the 'learned pundits,' it seems, continue to know the Chinese by the name of *Chinas*. And so do we, and so does all Europe, with a little variation, in the name, a name however which is utterly unknown to the Chinese themselves. An emperor of the dynasty of *Tsin*, indeed, attempted to bestow that name on the country, but it did not survive the family; this, however, happened about one thousand years after the separation of the *Chinas*, when the Chinese first

\* See a discourse on the Chinese, by Sir William Jones.

† The compiler of Menu is supposed by Sir William to have lived somewhere between 1000, and 1500 years before Christ; Budhism was first introduced into China sixty-five years after Christ.

visited the countries to the south west, among which *Hin-too* is particularly mentioned by name. Hence, through Persia and Arabia came *Sin*, *Sina* and *China*.

Were we inclined to pursue this subject, we might ask, why these *Chinas*, in separating from their nation, dropped their simple alphabetical language, and adopted a system of hieroglyphics which has never been known to follow, but universally to precede alphabetic writing? why, after forsaking the laws, and customs of their forefathers, they adopted others diametrically opposite? We might farther enquire, by what process the physical change of complexion was effected, from the glossy black of ebony to the pale and sickly hue of a dried tobacco leaf? by what means the sober and placid countenance of the Hindoo was transformed into the wild and disturbed features of a Chinese? We doubt not that the 'learned pundits' can easily reconcile such difficulties; but debarred, as we *Parias* are, from the light of the *Vedas*, we should as soon think of comparing the African negro with the Hottentot, as two people so remarkably distinct, as the Chinese and Hindoos are, in every moral and physical quality.

We have been drawn, rather unawares, into this digression, in consequence of the lamentable propensity of some of our countrymen in India to receive, as recondite truths, all the outrageous fictions which may be fabricated in the fertile workshop of Benares. When we find it not only gravely argued, that, from the British islands emanated all the extravagant dogmata, by which the faith and practice of the Brahminical religion are regulated, but that these arguments are favourably received at home, we cannot help expressing a marked contempt for such wretched impositions. The author, however, we believe, has recently read his recantation, and confessed, what all the world knew before, that he had been the dupe of the Brahmins.

It is now time to return to Mr. Marshman. His discovery of the Chinese alphabet, though not quite new, has at least disentangled it from the mysterious characters in which it was involved, and which had concealed it from those Europeans, whose whole lives were passed in the country. A fact the more remarkable, as the practice of ascertaining the sounds of characters, by the division of others, appears to have been well known to them.\* Fourmont had transferred these alphabetic characters from a Chinese dictionary into his Latin folio, but so disguised them among his *prefecti*, *ante signani*, *milites* and *commilitones*, that it would require more than

\* Pour indiquer le son du caractère d'homme, le grand dictionnaire de Kong-hi met les caractères de *jou* et de *lin*, avec celui de *tsie* après, qui indique l'éllision; ce qui signifie qu'il ne faut prendre que le *f* de *jou* et le *in* de *lin*, ce qui donne *jin* ou *gin*. *Mém. Chin.* Tom. 8, p. 121.

human patience to develop his explanations. Mr. Marshman, we are pretty certain, never saw the *Meditationes Sinicae* of Fourmont. It is evident, indeed, from the following passage, that he stumbled on the Chinese alphabet by mere accident.

‘It is difficult even to guess who was the author of this system, or the age in which it was invented. On first observing it, the thought occurred to the writer that it might possibly have originated with the present dynasty, and the idea of it have been borrowed from the Tartar system of letters. But several things rendered this improbable: the same system is found in several dictionaries which existed *long before* the Imperial Dictionary was compiled: and indeed on close examination the Tartar alphabet does not appear to contain this system of initials. To introduce a new system of pronunciation, which should be attached to the same characters, must be attended with greater difficulties than the introduction of a new language; and is such an innovation as has scarcely been known in any nation, much less in China. The invention must at present therefore be left in obscurity, while the scheme itself exhibits a curious proof, both of the vast powers, and the limited nature, of the human mind; of the former, in the regularity and extent of the system, and of the latter, in stopping at the monosyllabic form! How astonishing that, with the idea of combining the *characters*, that of combining the *names* of these characters should never have entered the mind! an idea which seems connected with the other in the most natural and intimate manner, and which would have rendered the oral part of the language as definite and as copious, as that of the characters.’ (p. 41.)

It is quite certain that a set of syllables, all beginning with consonants and ending in vowels, liquids, or nasals, whether in a separate or combined state, will not be deficient in euphony; but the fact is, the formation of a polysyllabic language would be incompatible with the system of employing characters as representations of sensible objects. Experience has proved, that hieroglyphic monosyllables have invariably given way to alphabetic or syllabic combinations. The Chinese must be aware that the adoption of the latter would infallibly destroy their admired fabric, and render useless their millions of books, many of them preserved for twenty centuries. Their extreme veneration for all that is ancient is a feeling which may have contributed not a little, by its hostility to innovation, to the stability and integrity of this vast empire. So sacred, indeed, is this attachment to the characters of the language, that it is not a mere want of taste, but a positive misdemeanor, to tear a written paper and throw away the fragments; such scraps, whenever found, are carefully picked up, and put into a small pouch or hollow bamboo, which every man of taste and letters carries about his person.

The simple monosyllables, as we have already observed, amount only to 846; by certain intonations, however, applied to the greater part of them, this number is capable of being extended to 2178.

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These intonations, which are neither more nor less than the Greek accents, are thus distinguished: 1. *Pheng*, even or moderate, the common or grave accent. 2. *Siang*, ascending, which answers to the acute accent. 3. *Shee*, protracted, or the long syllable; and 4. *Yu*, to stop short, to re-enter, the mark of the short syllable. Dividing then the 35,000 characters by 2178, the number of characters having precisely the same sound will be sixteen; if by 846, we shall have 41 characters each bearing nearly the same sound. The recurrence, however, of these paronymous monosyllables does not, in the opinion of Mr. Marshman, 'prove so great a hindrance' as might be imagined. That it does however prove not only 'a hindrance,' but is also productive of frequent and sometimes of ludicrous mistakes, we are quite certain. The following edict, which we copy from the Pekin Gazette, affords a decisive proof that the poverty of the language is 'a hindrance' even to the Chinese themselves. 'Whereas the names of the viceroy of Yunnan, and the Lieutenant General of that province, being pronounced alike, though differently written, may occasion some confusion, it is therefore ordered that the Lieutenant General Shoo-lin do change his name to Shoo-ching.' *Imperial Edict, 15th May, 1800.*

But, it may be asked, says Mr. Marshman, 'what are the 846 characters which express the original monosyllables, or even the two thousand which express them intonated, to the whole? As sounds cannot be conveyed to the eye, if there be only 30,000 characters, the sound of at least 28,000 must still be left undefined.' The remedy for this seeming inconvenience is that of which we have just spoken. The few monosyllables contained in the language being accurately described, and their various intonations defined, by means of the alphabet, it was only necessary to affix one of these defined characters after each character in the dictionary, in order to ascertain the pronunciation of every character in the language.

'This is exactly the plan which the Chinese philologists have adopted. Were we, for example, in the course of reading, to meet with the character

忠, *faithful*, of the name of which we are supposed to be ig-

norant; on turning in the imperial dictionary, to the key *sin*, the heart, we shall find this character among those which consist of four additional strokes, and underneath it *ch-ee* and *l-oong*, given as the two characters, from which the sound of it is to be formed, i. e. *choong*, but lest the sound should be mistaken, it is added underneath, 'harmonizing in sound with *choong*,' which latter character is found in the table of the two thousand intonated sounds. Thus, then, by means of these 2000 characters, the formation of the name and intonation of which are clearly laid down in the imperial dictionary, is the pronunciation of every character fixed in so clear a manner, that any one in Britain, who



is master of the system here given, may ascertain the sound, as though he were at Pekin.' p. 73.

3<sup>o</sup>. We have but little to observe upon the third part of the '*Dissertation*,' which contains '*remarks on the grammatical construction of the Chinese language*.' Like every other part of the work, it exhibits marks of an active and intelligent mind. This division, it is true, is more defective than either of the preceding; but the little it contains is genuine, being grounded on the best possible authority, that of Confucius, a collection of whose discourses and opinions the author had previously translated. From this work, and two commentaries upon it, the author has drawn a set of examples for the purpose of elucidating the '*grammatical construction of the Chinese language*.' This course, he tells us, he was induced to prefer from a conviction that '*one fact, clearly established, is a better addition to the general stock of knowledge, than a great number of theoretic speculations*.' It is worthy of remark, that the style and manner of Confucius and his immediate followers, were found to differ very little from those of the best writers of the present day. One of the commentaries consulted by Mr. Marshman was published 1,500 years after the death of Confucius, and the other much later, yet the only difference he could discover between them and the original consisted in the former being rather less concise. '*Indeed*,' he adds, '*whatever I have heard or read of the language, tends to convince me, that it is radically the same, whether exhibited in the conciseness and sublimity of the ancient sages, the easy and copious style of the modern writers, or the familiarity of conversation*.' This is, perhaps, the most extraordinary instance that the world has exhibited of a living language proved, by direct and positive testimony, to have been written and spoken by nearly one-third part of the human race, for more than 2,000 years, without undergoing any material change. How true, and at the same time how strictly applicable to the Chinese, is the observation of Dr. Johnson, that '*the language most likely to continue long without alteration would be that of a nation raised a little, and but a little, above barbarity, secluded from strangers, and totally employed in procuring the conveniences of life*.'

The grammar of the Chinese written language must, from the unchangeable nature of the characters, be very simple; they remain in fact the same invariable monosyllables through all their numbers, cases, genders, persons, moods, and tenses; and the same character may be employed as a noun, adjective, verb, or participle, without the addition or subtraction of a single iota from its original form. It is obvious, however, that the signification of characters, in whatever part of speech they may be employed, must be connected by some sort of auxiliary particles; these are exceedingly few in the written, but more abundant in the

colloquial language. The numeral adjectives are employed to express definite numbers; but indefinite number, as well as gender, is marked by a few auxiliary characters selected for the purpose.—The case is also determined, like our own, by expletives, generally prefixed; the genitive has *tie* after it; the dative *eu*, and the ablative *tung* before them. Adjectives generally precede the noun, as *ta*, great, *jin man*: *ye jin*, one man, would be clear enough in writing, but in speaking, ambiguous, and might be taken for a virtuous man; it is therefore usual in colloquial language to interpose a particle, and to say *ye-ko-jin*, for *one man*. The comparison of adjectives is also effected by appropriate particles. The personal pronouns are *ngo* I, *ne* thou, *ta* he; by the addition of *mun*, they become plural, as *ngo-mun*, *ne-mun*, *ta-mun*, we, ye, they; the farther addition of *tie* converts them into possessives, as *ngo-tie* mine; *ta-mun-tie* yours, &c.

The verb, like other parts of speech, has all the various modes determined by auxiliary characters, and where these are omitted, the sense is made out by the context. The present, past, and future are the only tenses which they have thought it necessary to distinguish; for instance, *ngo-lai*, I come, *ngo-lai-leao*, I came, did come, or have come, *ngo chau gai* or *ngo pee gai* I shall or will come. Simple as all this may appear, it is stated to be found amply sufficient in practice. Their sentences are invariably short, and on that account less liable to ambiguity. The best proof of its sufficiency will probably be found in the long duration of the system.

Our opinion has generally coincided with that of Mr. Marshman in his view of the Chinese language. We think, however, that he has greatly underrated its difficulties, which are not dependent on the mere recollection of the characters, but arise from causes which, having been fully stated on a former occasion, we do not conceive it necessary to repeat. But were we to admit, what is by no means the case, that the acquirement of this language was a mere act of memory, we must still hesitate before we allow 'that to imprint on the memory a distinct idea of two human countenances is an act of precisely the same nature with imprinting on the mind the figure of 2,000 Chinese characters.' The parallel is unhappily chosen. In every human countenance there are the same number, the same general form and disposition of features. It is not the trifling variation which occurs in these—it is the intelligent mind, the *visible soul* that stamps on each a distinct impression, and renders one man unlike another. But we are not disposed to find fault where so much praise is due. There is but one suggestion we are desirous of offering to Mr. Marshman; that in his future publications he will make use of the *Quan-woh* instead of the *Siang-tang*, or provincial jargon of Canton, which is as harsh and uncouth,

as it is incompatible with the system of pronunciation he has explained, and with which all his examples ought to correspond. Instead of this, we have *muk* for *moo*, *sum* for *sin*, *gnee* for *eul*, &c. It is true we are told, in a note, that much of the volume was printed off, before he had made the discovery of the alphabet in the imperial dictionary; but he also tells us that 'in numerous instances he preferred the Canton dialect, as that which would enable our countrymen to bring the Chinese words into most immediate use.' Our eighteen or twenty countrymen at Canton will scarcely thank him for this mark of predilection in their favour. For our own parts, we shall be greatly disappointed, and mortified, if the translation of *Kaung-shee's* dictionary, which we anticipate with feelings of much satisfaction, be not executed precisely according to the system laid down in the introductory part of that national work.

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ART. VIII. *Essay on the Military Policy and Institutions of the British Empire.* By C. W. Pasley, Captain in the Corps of Royal Engineers. Part I. 8vo. pp. 533. London. 1810. Lloyd.

NO text in Cowper has been more popular than that which says,

War is a game which, were their subjects wise,  
Kings should not play at.

In Switzerland a game has lately been made of war, (*Das Kriegspiel*,) which is played with figures upon a map, and recommended as exceedingly instructive to military students, because the principles upon which it is constructed are applicable to real operations in the field. It is well for the Swiss if they can now amuse themselves with this game, and still better will it be if they should hereafter profit by it! Well too would it be for the world, were it restored to that state on which Cowper's text was founded; even poets will not venture to call the war of this day the *game* of princes. We know, with awful certainty, that we contend for the safety of our country, and that war is, and long must continue to be, our most momentous business; and an author has now come forward with the spirit of a soldier, and the heart of an Englishman, to enforce upon us the conviction that the struggle is for our existence, and to show us how it may be carried on to a triumphant end. We do not, as it will be seen, concur in all Captain Pasley's doctrines, and the principles of some of those in which we agree are carried, we think, to an unwarranted extent; but the subject of the work is so important, the views which it takes are so enlarged, the reasonings so fairly and so candidly detailed, and the spirit that

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dictates the whole is so pure and patriotic, that we feel we cannot better perform our duty to the public, than by laying before them a summary of this most interesting book, and endeavouring to support the general opinions of its author, by a view of the actual strength of the British Empire, so consolatory, so proud, and so unanswerable, as to put the lily-livered crew of our husbanding politicians to shame. In these days when

πολεμος γαῖαν ἅπασαν ἔχει

we may truly say with Tyrtaeus,

Ξυνον δ' ἐσθλόν τετο πόλει τε, παντι τε δήμῳ.

'The main object of this work,' as stated by the author, 'is to endeavour to prove, that by certain new measures, and by certain additions to our means of defence, supposing we had not a single ship on the ocean, we might still hope to maintain our independence.' In other words, he contemplates, not merely the possibility, but even the probability, and in the event of a peace the certainty, of the enemy's obtaining over us a naval superiority; and he therefore rests his whole plan and hope of our ultimate defence upon a vigorous exertion of our military power on land. He does not stop to consider whether a standing army is constitutional or not. He does not even allude to the jealousy which our ancestors entertained on this subject: all such questions, if ever they occurred to him, he has waved; he looks only to the portentous signs which Europe at this hour displays, and he wastes no time in combating the theories which a century, and the twenty years which have passed since the French revolution (more fertile in wonders than a century of the usual course of human affairs) have rendered, for the present at least, irrelevant and obsolete.

It is Lord Bolingbroke, we think, who, in speaking of standing armies, says, that 'it is only occasionally that we should be soldiers, and, in those rare cases, only to a limited extent. Like other amphibious animals, we must, indeed, come occasionally on shore, but the water is more properly our element, and in it, like them, as we find our greatest security, so we exert our greatest force.' We do not know that we can give a fairer summary of Captain Pasley's essay, than by saying that it is, or at least aims at being, a refutation of these tenets of Lord Bolingbroke.

This work, Captain Pasley informs us, was intended to consist of two parts; the first treating of our military institutions, properly so called; and the other of the moral and political causes which operate upon a system of warfare, as it is at present, or must hereafter be conducted, on the part of this country.

For reasons assigned in his preface, and to which we are disposed to accede, Captain Pasley has altered this arrangement—he has, in the volume now under consideration, treated the latter  
branch

branch of his subject only, as being the most pressing, both in regard to its own importance, and to the exigencies of the times in which he writes, and he has postponed, to another volume, (which, however, he says, will speedily appear,) the examination of our practical military institutions.

Captain Pasley begins by a comparative statement of our own means and those of the enemy, which may startle those who have been accustomed to rely implicitly on our insular situation.—Of this statement the following will be found to be a succinct but not inaccurate abstract. ‘The five grand points,’ he says, ‘to be considered between nations at war, are, their population, their revenue, their means of rearing seamen, the energy of their executive government, and the spirit and patriotism of their people. The proportion of population against us, (those nations which are under the tyranny of France being included in the account,) is more than five to one; of disposable revenue France upon the lowest calculation possesses two-fold means, and these means may be greatly increased by adopting our system of taxation. Whatever Buonaparte chooses to impose must be paid, if it be within the bounds of possibility; and no one will dispute his inclination or his power to push the financial resources of the continent to their utmost stretch, in order to annoy us. Our own resources,’ he argues, ‘whether upon the commercial system, or that of the economists, must meantime decline; for whether at war or at peace, the main object of France will be to injure our trade. This she has the means of doing, and the revenues of the French empire may, ere long, become superior to ours in nearly the same ratio as its superiority of population. During the war, while it continues on its present footing, France cannot form a marine capable of coping with us; but peace will immediately give her the power of training seamen to any extent. The comparison between the executive government of the two countries, as applied to the immediate purpose of war, is still more in our disfavour. All the measures of our own government, right or wrong, are sure to be so warmly attacked by the existing opposition, that a great part of the time of every ministry is wasted in self-defence against the incessant assaults of their parliamentary opponents. The enemy has no parties to manage, no declared attacks on his measures to arrest or repel, no popular clamour to silence, no jarring interests to conciliate in the appointment of his officers civil or military. In process of time despotism becomes, perhaps, the most impotent of all forms of government; but long before the process of decay can take place in France, according to all human probability, the fate of this country must be decided. The advantages of public spirit and patriotism are unquestionably on our side; but these may be too confidently relied upon. All history proves that one state conquers another not by superior freedom or virtue, but by possessing

more numerous, braver, better organized, and better commanded armies, with a more vigorous system of military policy, and more constancy in repairing disasters in war. Such being the relative force, resources, and energy of the two contending empires, is it possible that we can preserve our naval superiority any number of years? That power that is likely to have most money in order to buy materials and naval stores, and to employ most shipwrights, will be able to build and equip most ships; that power that has the greatest population can put most men into its ships after they are built, and that which has the greatest extent of sea-coast, and which rears most seamen by its ordinary commercial navigation during peace, will be able most speedily to man its fleets with good sailors at the commencement of a war, and most readily to replace their loss during its continuance. But that power is or will be France. The French empire, with so decided a superiority in every point upon which naval power is founded, will be able to equip a navy more than double in force to ours, or indeed in any greater proportion that might be thought needful, manned by seamen equally or nearly as skilful as our own.

In thus opening his work, Captain Pasley seems to have thought it expedient to assume an appearance of despondency, that it might afterwards be strongly contrasted with the real scope of his argument. We venture to be of opinion that this is neither necessary nor judicious; and we feel confident that it is utterly unfounded. Without despairing of our finances or our navy, there remain, we are satisfied, motives quite sufficient to incite us to great military exertions. Captain Pasley needs not, like Cæsar, in order to inspirit us to fight ashore, destroy our fleet: indeed we feel that we shall give strength to his ultimate conclusions, if we can show that his discouraging estimate of our population and finances, and his despair of our commercial ascendancy in peace, are unfounded; and, while he argues the urgent policy of the measures which he proposes, he will surely consider those to be useful auxiliaries who can show that our resources are equal to the accomplishment of his objects.

The population opposed to us in our contest with the Emperor of the French, Captain Pasley estimates as five to one, and, numerically speaking, he is perhaps sufficiently accurate. But the power of producing and maintaining armies results so little from mere population, that previous to the time of Francis I. it is well known no standing army was or could be maintained in Europe, and from that time armies have only increased with increasing civilization. The cause of this is not obscure. Millions of persons may subsist in a rude state, and consume the produce of the soil, without acquiring a particle of that kind of power which contributes to the maintenance of an army, or to any other national object.



object. In the feudal times, imperfect agriculture and the want of roads, scarcely permitted the cultivators to dispose of a surplus sufficient to furnish money contributions for the support of the regal and baronial courts. The progress of civilization taught a more economical and effectual application of human labour; and an increasing number of persons could be fed, besides those who cultivated the land. To procure their share, these superfluous lookers-on became manufacturers, whence arose, in the natural order of gradation, trade, money, and facility of taxation; and it is in reality from the degree in which scientific or skilful labour exists in a country, that the permanent maintenance of armies is to be calculated. In a ruder state of things nothing can be furnished beyond the raw material—untutored man.

The real inquiry for our purpose therefore is, the quantity of machinery, of scientific labour, and of the means of employing both existing in England, as compared with the same resources in the dominions of Buonaparte. A difference in our favour all will allow: because if both had remained stationary since the commencement of the war, our superiority was evident from the vent of our manufactured goods on the continent, and that too in despite of the higher price paid in England for labour to each individual workman.—And what has happened since the commencement of the war? Except those ornamental manufactures which are maintained, not by profit, but at the expense of government, from motives of vanity or policy, all manufacture in France is extinct, or nearly so. Over the rest of the continent war has occasioned a desolation unparalleled since the irruption of the Barbarians; and war contributions have annihilated the visible capital of the manufacturer, and therewith, of course, all his exertions. This we may conclude without fear of error from the otherwise unaccountable and incredible avidity with which English goods are purchased, even in increased quantities, though at a price proportioned to the danger of hazarding the vengeance of the laws, if they may be so called, which have been made for their exclusion.

The prosperous application of large capital we have daily opportunity of seeing. In one place, a large steam engine performs the manual labour of five hundred able men; in another place, a cotton mill works with all the delicacy of five hundred skilful artisans; and a thousand men may thus be marched to the army without national loss. In machinery less striking than these popular instances, no less progress has been made. For instance, agricultural instruments employed about a hundred and twenty persons, masters and workmen, in London, twenty years ago—now upwards of two thousand are engaged in this manufacture: but this increase in their number is accompanied by the discharge of thousands and tens

of thousands from manual labour; and so proportionally has machinery lent aid to all other trades and callings. Co-operating with machinery in advancing our national power is obviously the division of labour; the effect of which having been so ably examined and stated as to have become an undisputed principle, has only been mentioned in this place, lest we should seem to forget that it has conspicuously increased in the last ten years.

Another cause of national power, though not unknown, and even faintly recognized by all when mentioned, is not so highly appreciated as it deserves. We allude to the striking increase of task-work, which operates *directly* on the individual so employed, causing him usually to produce twice as much work as before, and with twice as much complacency as when he toils listlessly for daily wages,—the effect on him being in the one case to make him do as much, in the other as little as possible. The *indirect* effect of task-work is on the day-labourer, who is not permitted to lag far behind the task-workers when a comparison is at hand. An appeal to the several classes of society would produce their testimony that task-work has increased, and is increasing, in almost every species of labour to which it is applicable: but the most important example of this is in agriculture, which must always remain the most general occupation in England; and in short it would not be too much to affirm, that the habit of task-work has augmented four-fold within the last twenty years, and doubled within the last seven.

It is obvious that we have only to contrive machinery to do the work of men, and we may maintain them in the service of the public—to divide labour, and to extend the fashion of task-work, by which few do the work of many, and we may take the overplus into our army and navy. We have already done this to the amount of more than half a million of men, of whom 400,000 have been added to the military establishment since the commencement of the war.

The following statement of our effective forces (including officers) at the close of the last year, will be at once satisfactory to our readers, and useful to our argument. Our regular cavalry appears, from the authentic returns, to have been on the 25th of December last 31,375. Our regular infantry, including the foreign and colonial corps 211,574. The artillery, horse and foot, 22,346, making in all of regular land forces 265,295 men. The vote for seamen and marines was, in 1810, increased to 145,000; and it was stated in Parliament that this increased vote was necessary, because that number were actually in the service. The regular militias of the empire amounted to 95,440, and thus we have a total of actual military and naval force of upwards of five hundred thousand men—a force more than double the military establishment of the Roman

man empire under Augustus. And here we must observe, that the measure of interchanging the British and Irish Militias, the most important and beneficial to the empire which has been proposed since the union, will have the effect, in addition to many other and greater advantages, of increasing our actually disposable force by nearly 16,000 or 20,000 men, the number of regular troops which it has hitherto been thought expedient to retain in Ireland, and which we apprehend may be most safely and most usefully replaced by the British militia.

The local militia of Great Britain which assembled for exercise at the last inspection, amounted to 167,000. The volunteers in Great Britain are 52,000 infantry, 18,000 cavalry. In Ireland 67,000 infantry, 8,000 cavalry—a total irregular force of 312,000.

Thus, in the whole, we offer to the world the proud and commanding spectacle of eight hundred and twenty thousand men in arms; and this has been accomplished, as the increased comforts of all classes of society abundantly prove, without any unnatural exertion or ruinous expenditure of our strength. To our enemy every thing is opposite; and accordingly, with all his five-fold superiority of population, he does not, certainly only because he cannot, maintain many more troops and seamen than ourselves, even by the severest exactions of tyranny. Yet such is our habitual despondency, that while in possession of this mighty force, we have expended two millions and a quarter on martello towers and fortification in these very British islands since the commencement of the war!

But if the numbers of the armed masses of the two powers be thus less unequal than they are generally supposed to be, they will be brought still more nearly to a level by a consideration that the number of actual Frenchmen serving in the armies of Buonaparte is less in a considerable proportion than that of the actual British in the armies of Britain; and it is not to be doubted that the natives of Britain and France respectively form not only the foundation, but the essence and efficiency of the forces of the two nations.

Under all those considerations we are disposed, not indeed to assert that we possess or can possess a military population equal in arithmetical amount to that of France, but to insist that there is no such disproportion as should excite any despondency, or even any fear. We confidently believe that the disproportion is not greater than the habitual strength, courage, and patriotism of British soldiers, are equal to counterbalance and compensate.

Thus far on the first point of Captain Pasley's statement; we must now proceed to the second.

The doctrine of the economists, in the rejection of which we are sorry to see that Captain Pasley hesitates, seems in reality to have  
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been invented and propagated by the supple philosophers of France, in concert with its politicians, for the purpose of exalting the resources of France beyond those of Britain. If our limits permitted, we should, out of respect even to the hesitation of Captain Pasley, have been glad to collect into one point the facts and reasonings which have so victoriously overthrown that theory, and which we satisfy ourselves would have removed all his doubts: but we are obliged to proceed to treat of English commerce on other grounds, premising that the discussion divides itself into two parts much more distinct than is commonly supposed,—the prosperity of commerce, and the quantity of our exported commodities. For although Adam Smith has very well distinguished between these, and shewn from the example of China that internal commerce may exist in any degree in a nation almost secluded from intercourse with the rest of the world; yet our naval habits, and the convenience of recurring to the known quantity of imports and exports, have confined the attention of the public to a part instead of the whole: and as Captain Pasley himself seems apprehensive of the effects of the anti-commercial decrees of *Buona parte*, we shall, in the small space that can be allowed for so large a subject, endeavour to throw some light upon this question.

To suppose that we profit from foreign trade only, is no less than to attribute to it a miraculous quality; as if a shopkeeper should imagine that gain could only accrue to him by selling to persons ignorant of the English language; or to imagine that if a barrier were placed around each county or parish in England, so as to take an account of all commodities interchanged, a large increase of trade must take place. Let us put aside for a moment the idea of money, and suppose two thriving artizans, a hatter and a cabinet-maker for instance, to interchange their respective commodities; it is clear that the creative industry of both would augment the value of manufactured produce, and the family of one would wear better hats, while the house of the other would be better furnished than before, and national wealth would be thus augmented by the profits of *two* persons instead of the profit of *one*, which latter case is the less favourable result of any commercial intercourse with foreigners.

We proceed now to a comparison of our exports and of our internal commerce. The value of British produce and manufactures annually exported, has increased pretty steadily from forty to forty-five millions within the last ten years, excepting always the twelvemonth of unusual and we fear unprofitable speculation, which produced an enormous augmentation of exports in 1809. But though this increase is respectable, and may prove the futility of any attempt against our external commerce, it is as nothing compared

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with the increase and importance of our internal commerce, of which indeed it is no real criterion, though usually adopted, for no better reason it should seem, than that our internal commerce cannot be so obviously or accurately ascertained. We must therefore seek a criterion drawn from other sources, towards which an estimate of the sum annually expended in Great Britain will not be useless.

Considering that the expense incurred in parish workhouses in 1803, was about 12*l.* for each pauper, we may venture to conclude from the notorious rise in the price of the necessaries of life, that it now amounts to 15*l.* per head; which can scarcely reach the average of the expenditure of other individuals, so that we may presume each person in England to expend annually 20*l.* The number of persons in Great Britain (including the army and navy) was about eleven millions in 1801, and to this a considerable addition may now be assumed, if population increases with the comfort and prosperity of individuals, which we shall presently demonstrate to have increased considerably. If our population be taken at twelve millions, the expenditure of all the inhabitants of Great Britain will be 240 millions sterling.

If it be said that of the 240 millions annually expended in Great Britain, 15 or 20 millions are paid for imported foreign produce consumed here; this is more than balanced by the domestic commerce of Ireland, which cannot be less than 20 millions, and is really about 30 millions per annum.

Our domestic customers, therefore, purchasing to the amount of 240 millions, and our foreign customers 45 millions, is proof that external commerce, however important, adds no more than a fifth or sixth part (two elevenths) to our commercial prosperity; and the greater portion of this is carried to our own foreign possessions and to Ireland, leaving *one eleventh part* of our commercial prosperity to be derived from customers over whom we have no controul. Captain Pasley (to whom such mercantile calculations were not to be expected to occur) will no doubt rejoice to learn in how great a degree our resources are thus independent of foreign trade, the diminution of which would only, in the common course of events, diminish our foreign expenditure to the same amount, and throw it upon our domestic expenditure. But we are aware that the interruption of our foreign trade must always have some effect on our means of prosecuting a continental war; it, however, at present chiefly operates, we think, not by diminishing, to any considerable degree, our resources themselves, but by rendering the application of those resources to foreign expenditure more difficult—for having a large sum to pay abroad, and not being able to send goods to create a fund for these payments, the rate of exchange must necessarily be against us, and the expense of the war abroad is thus increased by the loss at which we make our remittances—but this loss, we contend, is not yet,

yet, any more than the greater expense to which it is collateral, too much for the ability of the country. Besides, it is to be hoped, that from these very expenses may result an improved state of foreign commerce, which may have the effect of diminishing the rate at which we make those remittances.

To the extent here stated, we therefore admit, that the contraction of our continental trade is a *check* on the prosecution of great continental operations, and so far of Captain Pasley's principal objects; but it is only a *check*, and by no means a serious or irremovable obstacle. Our public revenues are chiefly drawn, as we have said, from a surer and more abundant source, our internal commerce, and what is still more satisfactory, without any sensible diminution of the former comforts of human existence. —This, if actual, could not be concealed, because it is ascertainable from the produce of those excise imposts which have been kept distinct from the additional, or war taxes, and also from that portion of the produce arising from exported commodities. But, upon investigation, we find that the consumption of those articles which form the comfort of the most numerous class of the community has not diminished, but on the contrary increased, and in the following proportions:—ten, 31 per cent.; sugar, 43; malt, 46; beer, 39; spirits, 21; and soap (representing the comfort called cleanliness) 26 per cent. The average increase of all these articles is 34 per cent, and, deducting one twelfth for the additional population before mentioned, about 31. The habitations and dress of the lower orders are evidently improved in a larger proportion. Useful industry must have increased in the same proportion as the comforts of the multitude, since a labourer cannot spend what he has not earned: and it must not be forgotten that the quantity of commodities consumed is an indication equally of comfort and of increased internal prosperity, altogether independent of nominal money value, and of commercial intercourse with the rest of Europe. Nor can we omit observing, that the Post-Office revenue, which is, in a great degree, a criterion of the internal commerce of a country, its diffusion of education, and its general advance in civilization, has gradually increased in the last ten years from 1,136,000*l.* to about 1,800,000*l.* being an improvement of above 50*l.* per cent. on the produce of the year 1800.

Whence then, it may be asked, the complaints of the merchant and manufacturer, that trade is dull or extinct? The following is the solution. The more flourishing trade really is, the greater is the increase of traders: more crowd into it, and the competition is often fatal to the venturesome man who encounters established rivals. The speculators of 1809, who are now becoming bankrupts, and who had little or no capital at first, are loudest in their complaints, and the natural discontent of Englishmen, or perhaps



perhaps of mankind, joined with the obvious prudence of concealing a prosperous adventure in times when trade cannot be conducted in a regular channel, deafens us with a repetition of this cry; though little retrenchment in their comforts or even their luxuries has been made by the complaining individuals themselves—though the expenditure of the great mass of the people is visibly increased,—and though every trading and manufacturing town in Great Britain exhibits also an increase in the number and value of dwelling houses, and all the other indications of growing, if not accumulating, wealth.

The present revenue of the British islands, however large and flourishing, does not satisfy Captain Pasley's mind, and he supposes it probable, 'that in a limited number of years, the revenue of our enemies may so increase, as to become superior to ours in a much greater ratio than at present.' What the revenue of the French empire at present is, we do not know, because the accounts are accommodated to the wishes of the government. Mr. Walsh states it at 60 millions sterling, but adds indeed that this is much below the real amount. His description of the manner in which it is levied proves very plainly that direct taxation is much heavier in France than in England, probably twice as heavy. But all discussions on taxation are useless, unless we take into view the comparative ability of payment, which is amply proved when taxes which no man is compelled to pay, in other words, when indirect taxes continually produce more and more. Of the comparative increase of our revenue from these sources we have spoken already, and the absolute amount is not less satisfactory. We may safely say that the duties (customs and excise) on tea and sugar produce six millions annually, malt and beer eight and a half, spirits five and a quarter, wine two and a half millions: except the last, these are all articles of vulgar luxury, producing together 20 millions sterling; and thus furnishing ample proof that our taxes though burdensome are not oppressive, and that hitherto they only operate like the climate of Europe, which, producing nothing spontaneously, compels the inhabitants to labour for food, and by the salutary rigour of which man has attained to greater plenty, and more security against famine, than he could find in the terrestrial Paradises of the East.

Exclusive of the expense of collecting the taxes, our national revenue may be taken at upwards of 65 millions, which is about double the amount of what it was in the year 1800, and is a full fourth part of the general income; which income must have therefore doubled within the same period.

This augmentation of wealth is not more than sufficient to explain that state of national prosperity which no man can avoid acknowledging, when he contemplates the infinite enterprize which has sprung up, and is maintained by the superfluity of money, by the

the *superlucration* which can scarcely find vent for its acquisitions. Canals, docks, water-works, roads, bridges, inclosures, and other national speculations attract adventurers; and are prosecuted not merely with assiduity, but eagerness, and each of these innumerable works, which are now going on in the country, are at once the consequences and the causes of public wealth. Some of them are more wisely imagined and more prudently conducted than others; but the aggregate offers a most satisfactory view and proof of national prosperity.

We now conclude, (without thinking we have exhausted, or even fully stated, this part of the subject,) by observing, that including Ireland, and excluding the cost of collection, the national revenue amounts to seventy-one millions, of which not six are produced by Ireland, on a population which may be estimated at about five millions of persons. Her taxes therefore are at the rate of 24s. each, while on the population of Great Britain, taken at eleven millions, the taxes are at the rate of 6*l.* on each person, and yet, we believe, that the taxes in England are more readily and easily paid than the smaller rate in Ireland. Do we want a stronger proof than this instance, that it is industry acting on a sufficient capital which constitutes the strength of a nation? The French revolution and Buonaparte have destroyed all the capitalists on the continent, and do we still foolishly fear that he can levy taxes indefinitely on the beggared population? In such a state of things the old observation that two and two in taxation arithmetic sometimes make but one, would be fully verified. He may ruin and even starve his unhappy subjects, but they cannot pay what they have not; and we confess there is no part of Captain Pasley's essay which we think less founded than that which treats of the probable superiority of the French finance over ours. While Buonaparte continues his present commercial, or rather anti-commercial system, and while France continues to be a land of slaves, we will not join in Captain Pasley's apprehensions of the increasing prosperity of her revenues and her trade.

Such then are the actual resources of the British Empire: they arise not from temporary and accidental causes, but from the character of the people and from the nature of a government which in a greater degree than any other that has ever existed, gives free scope to the activity and enterprize of all its subjects. Captain Pasley has undervalued these resources, partly it appears for the sake of contrasting a seeming despondency in the outset of his work, with the grand prospects which he afterwards opens to us, and partly also perhaps because the subject itself is not one of those which he has been accustomed to contemplate.

We will now proceed with our examination of Captain Pasley's topics; and first, of his opinions on our colonial policy. Suppose, he says, at the commencement of the revolutionary war, Great

Great Britain, possessing a disposable force of 150,000 men, had acted upon the system of acquiring colonies, and pursuing this object vigorously, became mistress of thirty such islands and fortresses, as Malta, Minorca, Corfu, Ceuta, &c. the enemy meantime employing her forces in subjugating the continental powers. Such possessions have seldom or never afforded a revenue more than sufficient to pay the expenses of their civil government; and the utmost assistance that their population ever gives to the military establishment of the conquering country, consists of a few battalions of raw volunteers, and those only in case of actual attack. All the charges therefore of maintaining the troops and constructing or repairing the works of fortification necessary for defence, must fall a dead burthen upon the mother country. Suppose that the naval power on both sides were equal; the ordinary garrisons for the defence of each of these conquests could not be averaged at less than 5000 men. After the acquisition of thirty such, we should therefore, instead of gaining any additional strength, entirely lose the use of our 150,000 soldiers; and as much of our revenue as was necessary for paying this great body of troops would be swallowed up and lost to all other national purposes. Admit that these possessions, by the favourable effect which they produced upon our commerce and manufactures, might enable us to pay 50,000 men more, which is rating their advantages at the utmost, still they would reduce our disposable force from 150,000 men to a third of that number. France meantime conquers the continent of Europe: her naval power, by supposition, equal to our own, enables her to attack Great Britain, and it is scarcely to be hoped that her enormous armies could be resisted for any time or with any final success by the portion of our army which we had reserved for home service; while we could derive no assistance from the remaining part, parcelled out into small garrisons, divided by the sea from the mother country and from each other. 'Such,' says Captain Pasley, 'is nearly the system which we have been pursuing since the French revolution took place, and such has been its tendency—the annihilation of a part of our disposable military force; impotency in all the grand objects of warfare not connected with maritime power; disappointment in all our expeditions whenever we have aimed at more than the attack of an island; want of confidence on the part of our allies, and a certain degree of contempt on the part of our enemies, of whose progressive aggrandizement to the gigantic degree of power which they now possess, our colonial policy has partly forced, and partly induced us to remain passive spectators. The superiority of our naval power has,' he adds, 'hitherto prevented us from feeling the insecurity of these colonial possessions; but when the French fleets shall be able to meet us on equal terms, (and a few years peace would certainly enable them to out-

number

number our ships in any proportion which they might think needful,) from that moment all will be open to invasion; and be their value what they may, they must fall into the hands of an enemy, who, having the choice of objects, will be able to spare infinitely more troops both for the attack and defence of them than we can afford. Malta and Gibraltar indeed could not be wrested from us, till the enemy had gained such a naval superiority as to cut off supplies from them; but the rest of the frail fabric of colonial power would fall to pieces almost as soon as we felt it to be in danger.

All this, and much more in the same style, is very forcibly put; and, with some abatement, we are disposed to accede to the proposition which Captain Pasley ultimately endeavours to enforce, but not certainly to all the arguments he uses for that purpose: for instance, we can, by no means, concur in the estimate which he makes of our colonial interests. We cannot forget that our own experience, and the favourite theories of the enemy, tend equally to conclusions on this subject very different from those of Captain Pasley. We are convinced that our naval superiority rests mainly on our colonial strength, with which it has grown, and with which we fear it would decay. Ships, colonies, and commerce, are the avowed objects of France—objects not of mere profit or of pride, but of her sincere and sagacious enmity to England. While the present war continues, Captain Pasley himself admits the value of our maritime possessions, but we must contend farther, that such a prospect of peace as Captain Pasley opens upon us, affords additional grounds for the ancient predilection of this country to the maintenance of her colonial system. The enemy's immense population; his unlimited continental dominion; the wide range of his coasts; his almost innumerable harbours and sea-ports: the extended commerce between the distant parts of his empire—a commerce that will be, as it were, at once foreign and internal—how are all these to be, in any degree, counterbalanced? We think the answer is obvious and conclusive—by our colonies;—which equal the numbers that drink liberty and life from the fountain of the English constitution, to those that groan and wither under the iron sway of the usurper; which confer upon us a wider dominion and a larger range of maritime territory, more harbours and sea-ports, and a commerce vastly exceeding his, and comprising, at the same time, in a greater degree even than his own, all the respective and mutual advantages of a foreign and an internal trade.

We do not, however, conceal from ourselves that colonial strength is more precarious than that which arises from our own immediate and internal resources, and we do not wish to damp any of that spirit for military exertion which Captain Pasley endeavours to excite. We think with him, that England should be a

great

great military power; but we also think that she should not, on that account, the less endeavour to continue a great naval and commercial power—she is equal to both, and we are satisfied that it is in the pursuit of the latter, that she will find the most copious means of accomplishing the former. Here, as in other cases, we think Captain Pasley has taken a view of the subject too purely military, and either from want of practical knowledge, or from a love of paradox, (a fault from which he is not altogether free,) has undervalued our colonial resources, and placed them injudiciously by way of antithesis and contradistinction to our military force and continental influence. Our opinion is, that they are not only reconcilable, but almost inseparable.

Captain Pasley proceeds to state, that ‘we have an arduous task before us; it is no less than to overturn the great continental empire which threatens our destruction. A necessity, that will brook no ordinary measures, strongly urges us to the attempt; and if we set about this noble enterprize with the spirit of men, if we make the attack upon this colossal power, before it is well knit together and firmly consolidated, while anger and revenge yet rankle in the hearts of the great mass of population of which it is composed; and if we transfer to the conduct of our operations by land the same wise and vigorous system of policy which has made us by sea almost invincible, there remains little doubt of our ultimate success; but till we shall send forth our armies to fight the enemy on the banks of the Ebro, the Elbe, or the Loire, with as much confidence as we believe we should feel in fighting upon those of the Thames—till we come forward, in the face of the universe, with a view to the applause of the present and of future ages, and throwing the gauntlet to our adversary, boldly challenge him to meet us, hand to hand, in any part of the known world, the efforts of our armies must all terminate in disappointment, and a career of disgrace must be terminated by ruin.’ (p. 117.)

‘The wonder is,’ he adds, ‘and posterity will consider it almost incredible, that the spirit with which we have acted in naval war, is radically different from that with which we are acting by land.’ This is illustrated by putting a case which will come home to the feelings of every man. ‘Suppose a British fleet, of forty sail of the line, were destroyed, what would be the consequence, if we thought of naval war exactly as we do of war by land, attributing to it, also, no more immediate effect upon our security? We should receive the news as we now receive that of a retreat and re-embarkation. Probably, no inquiry would take place; if it did, it would be a mere matter of form. No person would be punished, nor even censured, unless the strongest proof of flagrant misconduct were brought home to him. This man’s former services would be remembered; another’s wife and children;

and these things acting upon the humanity of a good natured nation would, with the aid of a little interest, obtain impunity for the guilty. The people's indignation would soon die away; at most, it would vent itself in peevish complaints against ministers for ever wasting the public money in so useless and chimerical an attempt as that of forming a navy to cope with the fleets of such a power as France, a measure superfluous to the safety, and dangerous to the liberties of the British nation. Thus we should act if we regarded our fleets with the same feeling as our armies, and pursued war by sea with the same principle, or, rather, the same no-principle, as war by land. But reverse the case, and suppose this fleet destroyed, our feelings, respecting the navy, being what they actually are; the consequence would then be, as soon as the first grief and consternation were over, a general cry for immediate inquiry. If misconduct were proved upon any branch of administration, the minister so convicted, or, perhaps, the whole administration, would be displaced: if it were in the admiral, or any of his officers, death, or the worse punishment of perpetual ignominy, would be their sentence. It might, possibly, prove to have been the effect of accident, neither to be foreseen nor prevented. At all events, the utmost exertion would be made to repair the loss; all the shipwrights of the kingdom would be collected in the royal docks, and the work would go on night and day. The merchant ships would be emptied of their men; large detachments hurried on board to supply the place of marines; quotas furnished by all the counties; and the commanders, whose principal claim was their parliamentary interest, if any such had been employed, would be thrown upon the shelf to make room for a Rodney or a Nelson. Meantime, the citizens of England would take arms; the country would be covered with camps; and, in short, only appear more determined and more terrible. Let us act only with the same vigour by land as by sea, and the usurper of Europe will tremble upon his throne.—(p. 124—126.)

The want of this vigour, we are inclined to agree with Captain Pasley, has been the prime cause of all our failures, all our disappointment, all our disgrace; it has tainted our councils like an original sin, and if the system were continued, the consequence must be a fall from which there can be no recovery. We rejoice, however, that a bolder and wiser spirit has of late animated our councils, and we think that the harvest which we have already gathered of glory and confidence in our strength, and the discomfiture and disgrace inflicted on the enemy, are at once proofs of the truth of Captain Pasley's doctrines, and promises of what we may reasonably expect from a continuance in a system, which has now, we hope, some chance of becoming permanently and universally popular.

But



But the secondary causes of failure are those which come home more directly to the feelings of the people: these Captain Pasley generalizes under three heads;—defective military institutions; an erroneous treatment of the natives of the country which is the seat of war; and a mistaken policy in regard to other powers, which are neutral, or, at least, not principals in the quarrel: the two last subjects, he says, comprehend the *politics of war*. The first of these causes is very briefly adverted to: the subject is of high importance, but it is reserved for future discussion. The two other causes of failure he considers more at length, and lays down some general principles by which the disasters arising from them may be avoided.

‘First, endeavour by every means in your power to make, and to preserve, the people of every country which you enter, either as a conqueror, or as an ally, your friends: for the people (by which I mean almost every individual in a nation, exclusive of the legislative and executive powers, and of a part of the nobility) is in all countries the strongest party.

‘Secondly, as there are some powers, whose friendship in war is likely, upon the whole, to be more fatal to you than their enmity, decline or refuse the alliance of such states, even if pressed upon you; courting only the friendship of states of a contrary description.

‘Thirdly, respect in all cases the law of nations; avoiding a crooked, intriguing, timid policy. Be a true friend to your allies in their utmost adversity. Be an open, a determined, a terrible enemy. Support not only your interest, but your dignity: for whenever you forget the latter, you lose sight of the former. An insult should therefore be resented more deeply than an injury. The honour of a great nation, such as we are at present, should be as spotless as that of a soldier: but it will be found, that unless, by adopting a more manly system of martial policy, we set ourselves above fear, it will be impossible for us to set ourselves above reproach.’ pp. 140, 141.

In discussing the policy to be observed towards other states, Captain Pasley boldly avows and very ably supports an opinion which, in modern times at least, has not been very popular in England, that a system of conquest and aggrandisement—of permanent annexation to our empire of the countries we may be able to subdue, is our best and safest policy. The following passages will do justice to his opinions.

‘I must observe in the strongest manner, that no power in the critical situation wherein Great Britain now stands was ever saved by coalitions. We must trust to ourselves alone. We must draw the sword with the spirit of principals not of auxiliaries, and we must never cease to increase our own power by conquest, till we have made ourselves the strongest power in Europe, by land as well as by sea.

‘That part of our policy which deserves the most unqualified cen-

sure is the system of courting the friendship of all nations, or more accurately speaking of all governments whatever indiscriminately, even the most weak and contemptible. Ample experience must by this time have taught us that the friendship of such states is a burthen instead of a benefit: it is the inevitable fate of such powers to follow the strongest in war, and were we by the heaviest expence of blood and treasure to succeed in re-establishing the Stadtholder, the King of Sardinia, and the various Italian states, and even to place on the throne of those states branches of our own royal family, still we should find in a new war, that we had only transferred the sword from one set of enemies to another. By whatever name the ruler of the Dutch is called, Holland will always be our foe till we either reduce it to a province of Great Britain, or make ourselves stronger than France by other conquests.

‘What is the effect of a contrary system, when we display our standard in some new country, the natives of which have any degree of judgment or resolution? They either ask or endeavour to learn our views. We probably offer them some advantages, which they neither wish for nor understand: and we profess that we only intend a temporary occupation. The brave and high-minded, disdaining to be sold at a peace for some West India island, immediately fly to arms to oppose us. The self-interested, the timid and the servile, looking forward to recommend themselves to their former masters, become equally our enemies. Men of all characters and parties forget their domestic feuds, and unite against us. Hence even if we gain a partial success by force of arms, our power is in constant danger, either of being subverted by open insurrection, or of being undermined by secret conspiracy.

‘If we acted on a contrary system, and declared that we would maintain our conquests to the last extremity; our adversaries, who in that case would form only a part, not the whole of a nation, after being subdued in the field, would soon be reconciled to us, by our humane conduct, after they knew that we would not forsake them. The self-interested would dread to embark in any conspiracy against such a determined nation: on the contrary, they would make a merit with us of discovering and counteracting all plots, and of repressing all discontent, amongst their own countrymen.

‘Our unambitious, unwarlike policy is thus the cause, which has either formed or added strength to French parties, in all countries in which we have ever acted. It was almost the only cause, that combined and armed the natives of Spanish South America against us, and inspired them with an almost incredible degree of horror and aversion at the sight or name of an Englishman. It is a cause that has hitherto tended to make us hateful or contemptible, wherever we have carried our arms, even where it has not actually contributed to our ruin or disgrace, as was the case at Buenos Ayres.’—pp. 164, 166.

He pushes the principle of this opinion to its full extent; he disapproves of our system of rushing blindly into offensive and defensive alliances. He would have no friends but strong ones—

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with a weak people he would have no alliance—rather than assist them in their first opposition, he would permit them to be overrun, that we might reconquer them from the enemy, and add them to our force, not as allies but as subjects. This is a sufficiently bold avowal; but he goes still farther. He not only justifies but appears to recommend an interference in the internal administration of the allies we may have. At these doctrines we own we are inclined to pause. We will not defend all the system of this country, with respect to its alliances. Many of our allies have been to us, we are reluctantly obliged to allow, not strength but weakness. We agree that there has been perhaps too great a fondness for making alliances, and too great a readiness to be duped by the mere promise of a new friend, without inquiring into his worth or his power. We know too, that we have often risked greatly for those who deserved least from us, and that we have frequently put ourselves to inconvenience, and even to peril, in the hope of assisting those whose case was irremediable, and whose ruin inevitable; but these errors though they be, are honest and generous errors; and though they are to be regretted for the past, and avoided for the future, yet we cannot bring ourselves to wish that the principle which prompts them should be enfeebled or eradicated. The extinction of that spirit would undoubtedly prevent the recurrence of those errors; but it would produce, we are convinced, others of still more pernicious effect. The national character is, we believe, one of the best bulwarks of England; it is confidence at home, and it is terror abroad: but if a cold and selfish policy is now to benumb us; if we shall hereafter unite with the strong only because they are strong, and shall abandon the weak to the oppressor, only because they are weak; if too, we shall refuse to protect, unless we are allowed to govern; if, in short, all our relations with foreign powers are to be either selfish and calculating, or meddling and arrogant; we fear that our rank among nations will be lowered; and that Europe, which now looks even to our failings with respect and hope, will contribute with satisfaction to the efforts of France for the overthrow of our power.

The opinions of Captain Pasley respecting Spain are especially worthy of attention, because here it is that the bold system which he recommends may immediately be put in practice. Here is not merely the fairfield, but the vantage ground on which the enemy may be met; and so much has already been done, that if the public mind were but wound up to the pitch of the occasion, a triumphant result would be as speedy as certain. Not conceiving from our past policy that the British government would have displayed so much energy as it has done in the cause of the Peninsula, and knowing too much of history to be led astray by the then prevailing opinion that

a nation of armed citizens was not to be overcome by a vastly superior military force, he says, that at the commencement of the contest he had no sanguine hopes of its result; but the very misfortunes of the Spaniards have so tried and proved their genuine courage and genuine patriotism, that at this moment, he adds, I esteem them more for their perseverance under calamity, than if with a better political and military system they had been able to realize their just intentions of carrying the war into the heart of France. In this respect he differs widely from the unthinking crew, who are now as unreasonable in their abuse of the Spaniards, as they were in their expectations from them at first.

‘When Castanos, by superiority of numbers, surrounded and took the army of Dupont—when the inhabitants of Zaragoza and Valencia so obstinately resisted, and triumphed over the desperate attacks of the French, who were obliged from all points to retire behind the Ebro—then nothing but Spanish patriotism was talked of in England, and all manner of impossibilities were expected from it. After the end of the same year, when events had awfully proved the inferiority of new levies, and exposed the precarious situation of a nation, which has neither an establishment of well disciplined troops, nor of fortresses, to oppose to veteran armies; instead of profiting by the lesson, and seeing these important facts in their real light, we suddenly became as loud and unreasonable in our abuse, as we had formerly been absurdly extravagant in our admiration, of the Spanish levies; and for a long time afterwards we accused these brave men, the victims of their attachment to the cause of their country, of want of patriotism.’

‘Want of patriotism was most unfeelingly thrown out against the heroes who buried themselves in the ruins of Zaragoza—against the young students of the universities, who served as private soldiers, and nearly perished in the disastrous operations of Blake—against the many thousands of unhappy men, the flower of the youth of Spain, who from a want of good officers, and of all the essentials of an army, which are not to be acquired in a few months, nor even in a few years, were unable to withstand their warlike invaders in the field, and who (small as the proportion of them that have actually fallen in battle may be) have been wasted away, by an accumulation of evils ten times more destructive than the sword. Those, however, who ascribed the misfortunes of the Spaniards to any thing but a want of good will in their own cause, were soon confirmed in their favourable opinion of that nation by the most convincing facts. What stronger proof could be desired of patriotism in any country, than that the people of Asturias and Galicia, after they saw themselves abandoned by a gallant body of more than 25,000 British troops, disdained to submit to that very French army, from which it was generally supposed that we had made a fortunate escape, in being able to effect our reembarkation, after a rapid retreat?—pp. 196, 198.

What we ought to have done, according to this competent judge, was to have employed an army of fifty or sixty thousand men in  
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our Spanish war; to have doubled that number, if possible, and to have kept it complete by every exertion in our power. 'It is no economy,' says Captain Pasley, 'either of money or of lives, to make war by dribblets.' We ought to deal in war by wholesale. We have generally employed no more men than are barely sufficient to match the enemy in the field, in those countries which we have designed to wrest from him, as if it would be an unfair advantage to send more troops against him than he has got ready. Wherever he has not been able to pour in reinforcements and weigh us down by numbers, this has answered, because with equal numbers, or even with numbers not greatly inferior, we always have beat the French, and by God's blessing, shall continue to do so; but even then it is a wasteful and ruinous policy.

In these propositions of Captain Pasley for the conduct of the war, we are glad to recognize the very principles on which this country has of late acted. We agree with him, that it is the true economy to make war by wholesale: we know not whether even the exertions recently made, to place at Lord Wellington's disposal a great and efficient force, would satisfy the *wishes* of Captain Pasley, but we are sure that they satisfy his *principles*. And although the army assembled in the Peninsula may not amount, by ten or fifteen thousand, to the number of men required by Captain Pasley, yet the having collected and directed to one object a force of 40,000 British soldiers, must have obtained his applause, while the success that has ensued has fortified his argument; and will encourage us to proceed in a course which must lead (if any can) to the final success of the perilous contest in which the ambition and tyranny of France have involved our allies and ourselves.

The contentions of our parliamentary parties are more than once noticed by Captain Pasley as another cause of our military failures, by conducing to our timid policy at home, and by encouraging our enemies, and dispiriting our allies abroad. The natural tendency of such a system, is to intimidate public men, and to paralyze public measures—to recommend to the adoption of a minister or a general, not what may be useful or glorious, but what shall be easy and safe; and to dissuade him from the most important objects of national security and honour, because they necessarily involve a degree of hazard, and are subject to the chances which must affect all human efforts.

And enterprizes of great pith and moment,

With this regard their currents turn awry,

And lose the name of action.

While this is the situation in which a British administration is placed, in how different and in how much more commanding a position does the enemy stand! He has no account to render to

political antagonists, no popular council to manage or conciliate, no improper disclosures to deprecate, no intemperate discussions or judgments to delay: his power is self-centered, and his efforts are animated by the energy of a single will, uncriticised, unshackled and undivided. We are far from wishing to stifle the voice of a free people, or to impede the course of constitutional discussion. Our observations are directed against those, if such there be, who inflame, not inform, the people, and against discussions imprudent, ill-timed, and ill-intended. Let those who may startle at such expressions, look to the manner in which Lord Wellington has been attacked, and the defence of Portugal represented as impossible. It is well for England, and, we trust, for the Peninsula, and for Europe, that our general was neither to be dismayed nor disgusted. Accusations of rashness and presumption he has repelled by the most consummate skill and prudence—complaints of lost opportunities and of inactivity he has refuted by the best concerted movements and the most rapid and vigorous pursuit, and the prophets of discomfiture and disgrace he has put to shame, by splendid successes and transcendent glory.

Captain Pasley speaks with the utmost respect of General Moore, and is especially careful that his writings should not seem to imply any thing in any way injurious to the memory of so brave a man. Those persons, he says, who state their opinion that he was for once mistaken, advance nothing that ought in justice to be considered derogatory either to his talents or reputation. That he was mistaken, the important events subsequent to his retreat have proved. If he had fought any where on the frontier of Galicia, as the men would have been in their full strength, their numbers undiminished, their spirits unbroken, the cavalry so superior to the enemy's, their artillery at hand, instead of being left on the road, or sent on shipboard as at Coruña,—surely that army which, under such complicated disadvantages, was still able to beat the French there, would have been far more able to beat them in its strength. Then, too, Romana was at hand, to co-operate with us. And here a tribute not less honourable than well deserved is borne by Captain Pasley to the merits of that true Spaniard, who has now closed his heroic career; and most ably has he vindicated him against a reproach which has been ungenerously and unjustly brought against him, for crossing the line of Sir J. Moore's retreat. Our limits will not permit us to follow Captain Pasley through this discussion, but we recommend it to those whom it concerns. Romana is beyond the reach of censure or of praise: not therefore for his sake, but for the sake of England, do we rejoice that these injurious reproaches have been so fully and feelingly refuted by a British soldier.

Then



Then too the Galicians, who so shortly afterwards recovered their country from that very enemy against whom we did not venture to defend it, would have rallied round us. In the defence of their own mountains they would have been efficient auxiliaries; and under the protection and instruction of our army, they might have been disciplined, as the Portuguese have since been, with such success. The strength of the Bierzo had long before been emphatically pointed out by Romana, in case of the worst; and Mr. Frere, who knew the country, conceived it impossible that such a ground should be abandoned. Though our army was inadequate for deciding the fate of Spain, Captain Pasley, who was with that army, affirms that still it was capable of doing something—fully capable, at least, of maintaining its footing in the peninsula; and as the war between France and Austria broke out immediately afterwards, such a measure would have been highly advantageous to the common cause. That war was at that very time foreseen; and if Sir J. Moore had made his stand upon the frontier, and instead of countermanding the reinforcements which were actually embarked, had prest the government to send out all the force that could be spared, what would have been the consequence? Either Buona-  
parte would not have withdrawn so large a part of his forces from the peninsula, in which case the scale, actually upon the turn, might have inclined in favour of Austria; or if he had withdrawn it, our army would have been upon the spot to take advantage of the favourable crisis.

Captain Pasley's mind is of too manly and too philosophical a stamp to look at the past for the ineffectual purpose of regretting it. To prevent the conquest of Spain, he says, we must adopt more vigorous measures, both military and political.

1st. We must send such a force as will enable us to act on the offensive, and to protect the formation of new Spanish armies, as effectually as we have done the Portuguese army: we must take the brunt of the war upon ourselves, and meet the enemy in pitched battle. He thinks, too, that we should have more than one British army in the peninsula, or we lose all the advantages which we ought to derive from our naval power: and wherever we have an army of our own, there ought to be an army of our allies attached to it of an equal or greater number of men, under orders of the British general.

2d. We should, he asserts, demand that the general of the British army acting in co-operation with the Spaniards shall have the chief command of the combined troops, with the absolute disposal of provisions, stores, and means of transport.

3d. To obviate the difficulty of subsisting an army in Spain, a country, of which Henry IV. said, referring to the chance of an invading

ing army there, *quand on y va fort, on meurt de faim: quand on y va foible, on est battu*, Captain Pasley boldly recommends that our officers should exercise that authority, which by the laws of war belongs to every army, and take without hesitation whatever they can find of which their troops may stand in need; and thus one cause, which has grievously embarrassed our movements, would be done away. For hitherto our officers have not ventured to assume any responsibility out of the routine of their military duties. Instead of perceiving that whenever a country became the seat of war, martial law, according to the nature of things, must be in force there, they act as they have been accustomed to do at home, where the authority of the civil magistrate is required for every thing; and they blame the Spanish magistrates for not doing in their behalf what it is not in their power to do, and what they ought to see done for themselves.

These three points Captain Pasley argues with considerable force and ingenuity; but again we confess we are not prepared to go the full length that his principles would carry us. We are satisfied of the policy of endeavouring to raise Spanish armies on the footing of that which has been so successfully formed in Portugal; it is an object for which we should do all that a due attention to the feelings of a high-minded nation will permit; but we must not forget that it was their insults upon the national character, and their disregard of the national prejudices, that raised upon the French the enthusiastic vengeance of Spain. We should be careful to guard ourselves, not merely from the reality, but even from any colour of resemblance to the insolent and profligate invader. It has lately become the fashion to repeat in this country, that a *right* has accrued to us out of our efforts and successes, to insist on the adoption by the Spaniards of measures of our dictation. God forbid that this doctrine should be acted upon by our Generals or our Ministers. Our efforts have been voluntary; we had a right to withhold them; we have chosen to make them; but to barter or to sell them, and to require, as the price of our assistance, even the slightest degradation of Spain, as an independent nation, would be the height at once of folly and injustice, a perfect imitation of French fraternity. Our interference must be as moderate, as our intentions are honourable; we are bound to recommend to Spain what we conceive to be most conducive to the welfare of the common cause, but she is not to be treated like a common soldier enlisted into our army, and drilled into the manœuvres and measures which we may choose to adopt. But it is said that 'without some vigorous interference all will be lost.' Let all be lost, but the character of our country; let all be lost but the confidence of the nations in us; let all be lost but the conviction that we have done right, and the

the hope and means of hereafter doing successfully. We may lose the arm of Spain; let us not lose her heart also. We confidently believe that nothing has been omitted, or will be wanting on the part of our government of recommendation, of persuasion, of entreaty, even of importunity, to induce that of Spain to adopt measures of efficient policy; and we no less confidently hope, that the lustre of our successes may pierce the cloud of prejudice and error which has hitherto overcast the councils and the fate of this interesting people.

But while on these points, and to this extent, we are obliged to enter our protest against Captain Pasley's principles, we most cordially concur in his views of almost every other circumstance of the peninsular contest. Our extravagant hopes, our subsequent despondency, our enthusiasm at one moment, our injustice at another, our spirit flowing and ebbing with successes and reverses; all these, we fear, it cannot be denied, that Captain Pasley has had too much reason to blame.

We will not follow Captain Pasley through the details of operations which, a year ago, he recommended; still less will we now venture any propositions of our own. We view the cause of the Peninsula, with hope and confidence; and if we feared that the country required any stimulus to similar sentiments, we should therefore even the more strongly recommend to its attention, the work of Captain Pasley, which, though written in a spirit more devoid of party feeling than any work on similar topics which we have ever seen, yet, by a fortunate coincidence is, in its principles, a powerful auxiliary to our present system of military policy.

The next part of our foreign policy examined, and indeed severely criticized by Captain Pasley, is the subsidizing system—a policy which all administrations have pursued, one inheriting it from another, and for which none therefore is exclusively to be censured. Instances may occur, we know, in which aid in the nature of a subsidy may be the only one that can either be afforded by us, or reach the object to which it is destined. We know, too, that there are cases (as of Portugal at present) in which pecuniary assistance may be employed most beneficially for the common cause; but these are, we think it must be admitted, only exceptions, and we concur with Captain Pasley in his disapprobation of a general subsidizing system.

The weaker states, we have seen, Captain Pasley would reject as allies, even when their alliance was gratuitous; we are not therefore surprised that he reprobates the buying of such assistance, or rather as he would say, of such weakness to our cause. The comparative advantages of aiding by money or by men that kind of ally which alone Captain Pasley would consent to have, he thus in substance states.

‘ Suppose

‘Suppose that a vigorous and faithful ally requires our assistance, a power whose alliance it is consistent with those principles of policy which have been enforced in the former part of this work, to accept, Russia or Austria for instance. These powers have always been able to find money for those wars in which we have taken no interest, or in which they have fought against us; and the fact is, that no government ever raises more troops than it expects to be able to maintain by its own resources. If we send a British army to the assistance of such an ally, we serve him just as effectually as if we enabled him to maintain an extra army of his own of the same numbers. But what are the effects of the two different systems? Suppose we send 60,000 men to co-operate with our ally, a large British army has thus an opportunity of learning the art of war: men and officers measure themselves both with friends and enemies; and it is not assuming too much for the British character to say, that in all probability they find themselves superior to both. They maintain and increase the glory of their country, and they make the British name respectable and terrible. By exchanges, promotions, and movements of corps, every regiment in the service becomes full of officers and men inured to war. Our national councils become lofty and vigorous, and full of hope, and even if the external war should terminate unfavourably, we have a regular army for our home defence, in the best possible state; fully capable of meeting the enemy, of instructing the new levies, and showing them an example; so that the system which affords the only hope of breaking the power of the enemy, is also the one which would best enable us to resist and repel invasion.’

‘Now take the other alternative, and instead of sending men, give our ally a subsidy which will enable him to raise 60,000 of his own troops. The immediate, and not the least evil, is that we are known to the continent, not for our real and tremendous strength, not for our high honourable character, the orderly discipline, the humanity, the generosity, the invincible courage of our soldiers, but only for our prodigious wealth, only as a nation who pay others to fight instead of fighting ourselves. In this light we are represented by the enemy, and in this light our very friends cannot fail to consider us, if friends they can be called. Should they succeed, we gain neither increase of territory nor of glory—not even the gratitude and respect of those whom we have served. But if the same allies declare against us, in consequence either of defeats, or fickleness, (we have had sufficient experience of both,) then the additional army of 60,000 men, which has been formed at our expence, becomes a ready weapon in the hands of our enemies for our destruction. Thus then the effects of the subsidizing system are more ruinous than the worst disasters which a nation acting upon the warlike system

system can incur. The whole body of a national army becomes injured to war by hazarding a part of it, in the manner which has just been shown, so that the loss of 30 or 40,000 men can be immediately replaced by troops equally good, and serious as such a loss would be, the enemy has gained no direct addition to his own numbers. But a subsidizing nation may find itself at once exposed to the whole united force of its original enemy, and of its former friends combining unexpectedly together for its destruction. Had we set out upon the subsidizing system by sea as well as by land, and hired the other maritime powers from the Dutch and the Danes, down to the Venetians and Genoese, to fight upon the ocean for us, we should most certainly have been at this day a province of France. The principles of war are the same upon all elements.'

There are cases indeed where a very deserving ally may be in extraordinary distress, and it becomes expedient to subsidize it. Spain and Portugal are cases in point. In Portugal we are acting, as far as this policy extends, perfectly right; we have taken the Portuguese army into our pay, we have trained them, and the consequences were seen, when they fought side by side with us at Busaco, Fuente d'Onor, and Albuhera.

Connected with this part of his essay are Captain Pasley's observations on our relations with Sicily, and into this subject he enters with a degree of, we had almost said, rashness, which perhaps our readers may have scarcely been (even by our previous observations) prepared to expect. Here he finds united two chief objects of his attack—an alliance with a weaker power, and a subsidy—and accordingly he pours forth all the vials of his wrath on that government and our connexion with it.

Very early and frequently in his work Captain Pasley insists on the importance of Sicily to us; but he always accompanies this assertion with either a broad hint or a positive avowal that we should show our sense of this importance by forthwith expelling our ally, its present sovereign, and seizing upon it as our own in full dominion. 'Sicily,' he says, 'which is worth more than all the West India islands put together, has, by some wonderful turn of thinking, lost *all* its importance in the eyes of the British nation.' This seems at first sight an extraordinary assertion in a work, one of the most copious topics of which is a complaint of our employing so many troops and squandering so much money in the defence of this island—but, in what we have already said, our readers will find the explanation of this inconsistency. Captain Pasley's opinion, though somewhat diffusely, and therefore not always clearly given, is simply this, that we do not adequately show our conviction of the value of Sicily, except we lay hold, by main force and for our own use, of that country into which we have been admitted as allies and protectors. This is bold doctrine, and  
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our readers will agree with us that we should be prepared, if we are to execute it, with some excuse or pretence. This appears not to have escaped Captain Pasley, and in many parts of his work we find what we suppose he meant to administer as opiates to our consciences, and to suggest as apologies for our conduct in the events of our resolving to undertake this honourable work. All petty plunderers from Robin Hood to the devil of Genoa, all conquerors from the Roman to the French republic, have paid the tribute to public opinion, of endeavouring to give some colour of justice to their violence. The outlaws alleged that they robbed only wealthy barons, roguish lawyers, or lazy priests, and shared their spoils with the poor, the honest, and the industrious. The plunderers by wholesale affected to lament the fate of their poor neighbours, who were groaning under oppressive and corrupt rulers, and generously made war upon them for the sake of bettering their conditions. We are not therefore so much surprised at the torrent of reproachful names which Captain Pasley has poured forth on the poor Sicilian cabinet—'vassal of France'—'miserable ally'—'deceitful and hypocritical court'—'weak, ignorant, and effeminate government,' are some of the gentlest epithets with which he compliments them. On the other hand, the people and the soldiers are 'honest, brave, friendly to the British, and worthy and desirous of a better government,' or, in other words, of becoming *our* subjects.

'If we had taken possession of Sicily for ourselves, our power would have been firmly cemented by the love and respect of a grateful nation, whose population would have furnished us with a faithful and formidable auxiliary force—instead of which, by going as allies, not as conquerors, we have been supporting in that island a government not only hateful to its subjects, but doubtful in faith to us.'—p. 168.

Neither our reading nor our experience would have induced us to believe that an endeavour to subject to our power a distant people differing from us in language, manners, and religion, was likely to have been more popular amongst them than a generous friendship and a disinterested protection. But here, too, Captain Pasley appears to have anticipated our objection, and he seems to think that this is a 'dignus vindice nodus,' and he accordingly brings forward witnesses to prove what mere reasoning would not have led us to believe. These he has drawn very properly from the classes about whom the discussion arises, and our readers will think he has sufficiently supported his case, when they learn that his evidences are a peasant, a foot soldier, and a dragoon; all good Sicilians; but he shall state his own case.

'When we first landed in Sicily a *peasant* asked me whether the Sicilians were not in future to consider themselves subjects of King George? On my explaining that we came as allies, not as usurpers, he walked sullenly



sullenly away, saying, if that was the case, he wished to God we had never entered the country.'—p. 171.

'When I first visited Sicily, as I was preparing to step into a boat at one of the sea-port towns, a *soldier* addressed me, and entered into a most violent abuse of the Sicilian service; he said their allowances were shamefully scanty, and, miserable as they were, that they were embezzled by the villainy of their superiors.'—p. 353.

'A *dragoon* once asked me how it was to be expected that he was to fight like our English soldiers who were properly treated and taken care of? Even my horse, to use the man's own words, is fed twice a day, but I myself am allowed but one meal a day, and that a poor one. Is this treatment for a soldier?'—p. 353.

Cogent as this evidence is, we cannot admit it to be sufficiently powerful to justify the seizure of Sicily, because it is liable, we fear, to be turned against ourselves. Is there no peasant in the British isles who grumbles at his government, and who, if Buonaparte were to land a great army on our shores, would converse with one of his officers as the Sicilian peasant did with Captain Pasley? As to the foot soldier we have a case in point in the complaint of Corporal Curtis, of the Oxfordshire militia, against his colonel, which was made a subject of discussion in parliament, and was, we believe, conceived nearly in the same terms as that of the Sicilian against his officers—'scanty allowances, and villainous embezzlements.' These we apprehend would scarcely justify an attempt on the part of King Ferdinand to seize upon Malta or any other British possession. One of Corporal Curtis's accusations was, as we recollect, that his colonel, a gentleman of 10,000*l.* a year, had cheated him out of a pair of breeches; and yet it appeared on the trial, that at the very moment of making the complaint the corporal had the identical pair of breeches actually upon him.

But to be serious; all this part of Captain Pasley's work we think fraught with dangerous principles, or, at least, principles carried to a dangerous extent; but, above all, we are obliged, having already only slightly alluded to this point, to enter our direct and indignant dissent from the reasonings by which he would justify or colour over the interference, on our part, with the internal concerns of an ally. What shall we say of the deductions which may be made from the following passage?

'When unfortunately you have formed an injudicious alliance, use your *influence* to persuade your ally, for his own sake as well as for yours, to adopt wiser and more humane measures towards his subjects, in order to make himself strong against foreign invasion. Should your advice be obstinately or contemptuously rejected, then look carefully into his conduct; and if you find any *flaw in his title deeds*, or that he has not strictly fulfilled every part of the mutual agreement, charge him with his *perfidy*, and withdraw your assistance from such a ruinous cause, the chances are'—p. 157.

Much

Much recommendation there is, we are sorry to say, of this kind of policy, in different parts of this work; but our general respect for Captain Pasley dissuades, and our limits restrain us from making larger extracts on this point: that which we have quoted is quite sufficient to develop the principle and to justify the disgust which we feel at the promulgation of a doctrine so mean, so mercenary, and so dangerous. We hope that Captain Pasley will, on reconsideration, purify his work from this blemish—we are confident that these are not his own matured and well weighed sentiments; and in almost all indeed of what he says on the subject of Sicily, we can trace the unlucky influence of another author, from which Captain Pasley's high and honourable spirit should free itself.

We are not the advocates of the Sicilian government, we are not the defenders of its measures or its policy—we know that there is much to regret in both, and none can feel more deeply than we do, the injury which the weakness and folly of any established government and the discontents of any people as yet unsubdued by France may inflict on themselves, on us, and on the hopes of Europe; but we cannot believe that the injury arising from such causes can be either so certain or so great, as that which would result from the departure of Great Britain from that system of generous and disinterested succour which it has been her glory, and because her glory, her interest, to offer to those powers with whom she has contracted engagements, or who may be disposed to unite with her in opposing the common enemy of all ancient and legitimate governments.

Captain Pasley appears to contemplate, as less improbable than it is generally supposed to be, a rupture between France and Austria; the late domestic alliance he does not consider as any very sure pledge of peace; 'the history of the world shews,' he says, 'that such connections form but a poor bond of union between sovereigns.' Holding therefore that Austria is the natural ally of Great Britain, and that a war between her and France is not improbable, Captain Pasley thinks that it would be our duty to support her with our whole strength, and he considers whether we should apply our assistance by sending a corps to serve in direct co-operation with the Austrian army, or by making a vigorous diversion in Italy, Holland, or the North of Europe. To the latter plan Captain Pasley inclines; and undoubtedly for the reasons which he states, and for many others which might be added, we entirely concur in this preference, though we do not look to any early opportunity of putting it into execution.—Indeed, there is no event which we should more lament, than a recurrence of those desultory and unconcerted efforts which the powers of the continent have already too often and too rashly made to free themselves from the yoke of Buonaparte. To his oppression there must be a period:

riod: a day of retribution and freedom will at last arrive; and nothing, we are convinced, but the rash and premature attempts of individual nations can retard it. We sincerely wish to the continent, as the only means of ultimate redemption, an uninterrupted continuance of its present sullen subjection, till the measure of suffering is full; till a simultaneous movement of indignation shall excite Prussia, Austria, Holland, and Germany; till they shall be prepared to strike, at once and in concert, at the colossal despotism which bestrides them. For that hour England will anxiously watch; at that hour she will be prepared to put forth all her strength; to pour, even with a prodigal liberality, all her power and all her resources to the succour of the continental insurrection—an insurrection which, so made and so succoured, must be successful.

A conduct similar to that which we think good policy dictates to the Germanic powers, would also be the interest of Russia—she, we own, may come to hostilities with France without risking her existence; and she might, perhaps, single-handed, carry on a war troublesome and expensive to the enemy without endangering her own security; but situated as she is in all respects, political, moral, and physical, we cannot hope that her single efforts can make any serious impressions on France, while it is doubtful whether France might not be able to inflict great injury on her. It is therefore to be desired that she too may for some time avoid hostilities, and may employ herself in repairing her losses and in collecting her strength, till an opportunity shall occur of making an effort in conjunction with her neighbours. This, we are convinced, is her wisest policy, and that which offers the best prospect of the deliverance of Europe. In the mean while we doubt, whether, with these views, it would be prudent to pursue towards Russia the measures which Captain Pasley recommends of ‘making her feel and dread our power.’ Undoubtedly if we considered Russia to be zealously and irrevocably the ally of France, we should endeavour to enforce this proposition to its full extent; but we cannot believe Russia to be so blind to her best interests, and so besotted in her thralldom: and as long as any reasonable hope remains of her returning to better councils, it would not be prudent either to exasperate or to weaken her, to deprive her at once of the wish and of the means of joining in the general effort. We admit that this forbearance may be pushed too far; but we should regret to see the chance of the co-operation of Russia prematurely cast away. One false step on the side of rashness might be more injurious to the general interests than a thousand errors of delay.

On the subject of Sweden we more implicitly agree with Captain Pasley: with him, we own that we feel neither pity for, nor

confidence in the rulers of that country, who have broken their faith with every body—with their legitimate sovereign—with their allies—with the usurper whom they themselves set up—nay with their own countrymen, by resigning to Russia the finest province of Sweden. The leading men have been long considered as the pensioners of Russia and France; and with enemies of this description no half measures should be pursued. It is to be hoped, too, as Captain Pasley observes, that 'the people cannot approve of, and that they will not long submit to, their country being betrayed or sold by the cowardice and villany of a few; we ought therefore to carry the war into Sweden, not as enemies but as deliverers, stretching forth our protecting arm to save her from the bondage that awaits her, and to aid her in avenging her wrongs; and when by our assistance the Swedes have got rid of their base usurpers, let them decide whether they will reinstate their former government or not; for any attempt upon our part to force it on them, would be not only highly impolitic, but in execution absolutely impossible.'

—p. 429.

Probably their wish will be to re-establish their lawful sovereign, who alone, of all the continental princes, has not disgraced his illustrious ancestry, by truckling to the upstart tyrant of France. But Captain Pasley thinks it not impossible that they may prefer a federal union with Great Britain—we are inclined, on the other hand, to think Sweden the only part of the North of Europe where such an union would be opposed by a high-minded love of independence, such as it behoves us to hold sacred. The character of the Swedes induces us to look to an alliance with them, like that which unites us to the Portuguese and Spaniards, founded upon mutual esteem and correspondent honour—all that is good and estimable in human nature, and therefore all that can be permanent.

All these considerations with regard to Sweden impress themselves the more strongly upon us from the conviction we feel that Buonaparte's chief object in placing his creature on her throne, was the check which he thus hoped to obtain upon Russia; a check which it will be found he has obtained, and which we cannot but believe it to be of the utmost importance, nay of absolute necessity, to remove, before we can expect any efficient co-operation from that power against the common enemy. We are aware that we cannot, at this crisis of the war in Spain, (for to Spain Lord Wellington has again removed the war,) spare an adequate force for a regular Swedish campaign; nor, if we could, should we wish to see it so employed. Naval hostilities, with that portion of land enterprise which we know can be connected with naval operations, would be sufficient for our object. Our quarrel is not with Sweden but its rulers; and

and by harassing the coast and annihilating their commerce, we should, if we can trust our informants, raise upon those rulers the vengeance of the Swedes themselves. That government cannot long go on without some degree of confidence and support from the people: the constitution affords the latter more influence on the public councils than it possesses in any other country in Europe except our own. A maritime war would cripple the custom revenues of the Swedish government, and oblige it to have recourse to internal taxation; and, for that purpose, to the popular and representative assemblies, from whom we should be inclined to expect some of those honest and honourable energies, which cannot but exist in a country that has never yet been absolutely enslaved.

But we have already exceeded the limits which we had proposed to ourselves, and we must hasten to a conclusion by a short summary of the reflections to which Captain Pasley leads us.

Peace with Buonaparte, or with France under any other ruler, while France possesses its present extent of coast, it is folly, or frenzy, or treason to advise. To carry on a defensive war, is to remain stationary in power, while our enemy is increasing in strength. This also is demonstrably the certain road to ruin. We have an efficient regular army at this moment of upwards of 250,000 men. If we could lay this island alongside France, what then should prevent us from doing it as resolutely as ever Nelson brought an enemy's three-decker to close quarters? What should deter us from meeting Buonaparte any where with equal numbers—from casting the liberties of the world into the scale, and trusting to God and our good cause and our own right hands for the triumphant issue? But we are masters of the sea—uncontroled, undisputed, absolute lords of the whole ocean. It is in our power therefore to chuse the vantage ground, and to attack the enemy whenever and wherever it is most advantageous for us, with such a force as shall ensure success, were there even no superiority of courage on our part, and if the people whom we go to deliver were to be passive spectators of the contest. With such a force, with such means of augmenting and such resources for supporting it, knowing too, what even the most panic stricken of the tyrant's flatterers in this country dare not deny, that wherever our troops have been fairly tried against his Invincibles, they have uniformly beaten them, what is it that can have occasioned the absurd and mischievous feeling of dismay, which gives ear to any voice rather than the voice of hope, to any counsels rather than those of true patriotism, true courage, and true wisdom? This is a subject too wide and too important to be lightly glanced at. We should be glad to pursue it; but we can only at present in few words illustrate

the principle of *husbanding* our resources, which is the watch-word of the despondents, and then conclude.

By this precious phrase, it is meant that we ought to save our men and our money till we are actually invaded by the enemy. Now of the policy of husbanding money with such a view, we have an illustrious example in the Greeks of Constantinople, who hoarded up those treasures to be plundered by the Turks, which they would not employ in carrying on the war against them; and the equally wise policy of husbanding an army has been exemplified in our own days by Prussia. Prussia had an army of the 'best disciplined troops' in the world; they were the admiration of all Europe upon the parade, and they had once been the terror of Europe in the field. But the present army had been *husbanded*; the consequence was, that in the hour of trial they came to the field like raw militia men opposed to veteran troops; and in a single day the Prussian monarchy was overthrown. The event of the battle of Jena might have been predicted with perfect certainty: for in military science, as in every other science, art, or trade, practice is essential to perfection. The prize-fighter improves both his skill and his muscular power by daily trials and exertions; the more he uses his arms, the more tremendous is the blow which he is able to give with them; while the Hindoo devotee, who sits with his hands before him in the same posture of devotion for weeks and months together, husbands his muscles till he loses the use of them!

'Oh woe to thee when doubt comes on!' says a wild German writer; 'it blows over thee like a wind from the north, and makes all thy joints to quake!' Woe indeed will be to the statesmen who doubt the strength of their country, and stand in awe of the enemy with whom it is engaged! and woe will be to us, and to Europe whose deliverance must come from us, and to liberty, and knowledge, and pure morals and true religion, which with us must stand or fall, if the government of this mighty country, in these momentous times, should be entrusted to men,

'Who talk of danger which they fear,  
And honour which they do not understand!'

We have been told of the danger of Lord Wellington, and his army in language which it is humiliating for an Englishman to read as coming from an English press—language as base as the basest political cowardice could inspire, and as mischievous as the foulest treason could have dictated. But not such is the feeling of the nation. What if the tyrant himself should come with a new army of the North and his legion of honour, to put in execution his old boast of driving the English into the sea? On the banks

of



of the Tagus we can assemble a British force sufficient to cope with any that he can bring against it; and we can supply it there. Would to God that he would come!

One effectual victory, one thorough success pursued to the destruction of an enemy's army, commanded by him, and oh what a spirit would be kindled throughout Europe! nor would the effect which would be produced at home be the least beneficial of its important consequences. We have not yet as a nation learnt to think highly enough of our power. We must exalt ourselves if we would not be humbled by our enemy. This maxim has been established by Captain Pasley. We have no hesitation in affirming that this book is one of the most important political works which has ever fallen under our observation. To the ability with which it is written we repeat our already frequent testimony; to the object it proposes we give our unmixed approbation; and though we frequently differ, as we have shown, in the degree to which they ought to be carried, we cordially admit the general validity of the principles which it inculcates.

ART. IX. *The Odes of Pindar, in celebration of Victors in the Olympic, Pythæan, Nemean, and Isthmæan Games, translated from the Greek, not one fourth part of which have ever appeared in English, including those by Mr. West. The whole completed and now first published by Francis Lee, A. M. Chaplain in ordinary to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Member of the Asiatic Society, &c. 4to. Miller, London. 1810.*

*All the Odes of Pindar, Translated from the Original Greek. By the Rev. J. L. Girdlestone, A. M. Master of the Classical School of Beccles, in Suffolk, 4to. Bacon, Norwich. Baldwin, London.*

TO transfer the beauties of Pindar into another language, or indeed to imitate his beauties at all, was, almost two thousand years ago, considered by a very competent judge, as a wild and hopeless undertaking. We know not whether the authority of Horace have operated very forcibly on the conduct of succeeding poets; or to what other cause we must attribute the circumstance, that no complete version of the Theban Bard has appeared until now, in any modern language. Many indeed are the learned and unlearned names, which, in our own country, have sought to pin their celebrity to some single tatter of his saffron mantle; but if any of these have hoped to perfect the doing of his works into English, they have all, in their turn, shrunk from the task, and abandoned the unfinished adventure to some future and more fortunate bard.

Ogilby could toil through Homer;—Dr. Trapp could persevere 'in spite of nature and his stars,' through the whole of Virgil; but Pindar's little volume has still kept its virgin honours inviolate: the flight of his Pegasus has been too high for common heads; and common hands have been repelled by the Cadmean harp as if its strings were of glowing iron. West himself, who proceeded farthest, and performed his work most elegantly, has scarcely completed a fourth part of the five and forty odes of his original. A far shorter excursion than his, exhausted all the rest of the aspirants; and the sixth Olympic ode has been a *pons asinorum*, which few indeed have overpassed. Accordingly, while our standard translations of Homer and Virgil are generally known and read, both by scholars, and by those whose only idea of the original is taken from Pope, Dryden, or Sotheby; Pindar, translated only by piecemeal, has remained unknown, except by name, to the majority of the people; and even by the greater part of those who have some pretensions to learning, has been held out to indistinct and distant reverence, as something very fine, very hard to construe, and utterly unintelligible to a mere English understanding.

At length, however, to supply this acknowledged deficiency in modern literature, and to introduce these almost untasted sweets to the knowledge and admiration of the general readers of poetry, two sturdy and adventurous candidates have advanced their claims: the one of whom (Mr. Girdlestone) has had the courage and perseverance to complete an entirely new translation of Pindar;—and the other (whose name is concealed, but who is announced by his Editor, Mr. Lee, as a person of high rank and considerable talents, lately deceased,) has contented himself with supplying those parts of his author, which are omitted in the selection made by West, with whose labours his own are joined in a well-conditioned 4to. volume.

It was the work of this unknown bard, which first attracted our notice; and though 'poems by a person of honour,' be, in these evil days of universal levelling, considered as no particularly tempting bill of fare; yet such is the natural effect of mysterious dignity, and such the advantage possessed by every posthumous author, (more especially the favoured few, whose works are discovered according to the rules of art, in a bureau, or wardrobe of 'deceased literary characters') that we opened his pages with a considerable degree of interest. Nor did the perusal of his preface, which is modest and well written, diminish our favourable expectations of the ensuing work. Unfortunately the fourth Olympic ode, which is the first of the new translations, too fatally convinced us of our error, and at once removed all impertinent curiosity as to the person of our unknown entertainer. Mr. Lee's concealment of his name, which at first we regarded as a stroke of policy,

licy, became in our eyes an act of humanity to the illustrious defunct, and his surviving friends; and we only regretted that the editor's forbearance had not extended to his manuscript as well as his title. Never since the time of the renowned Scriblerus, has any purer specimen appeared of that school, which Pope and Swift were thought to have wounded to the death; and did not circumstantial evidence compel us to assign to its composition, a date posterior to West, and to the early productions of the present Laureate, we should not have hesitated to name as the author of these anonymous translations, the immortal Sir Richard Blackmore himself.

The following lines purporting to be a version of the sixth Olympic ode (perhaps the most beautiful and characteristic of all Pindar,) is really not unworthy of—'Him who ne'er was, nor will be half read.'

'As when some Artist plans a proud design  
He bids the porch with stately columns shine,  
A hero's name thus in the front we place;  
But should Olympia grant her festive crown,  
And Jove's pontific wreath his temples grace,  
Should Syracuse call the man her own,  
How shall his worth unenvied by the throng  
Avoid the tribute of a pleasing song?

Nor could even an Avatar of the goddess Dulness, embodied in the character of a bell-man, produce a stanza more ponderous than the following, from Pyth. 8. Ep. 5.

'Think life a day, to be, or not to be,  
A chance so frail, that men are but a dream  
Of fleeting shadows, which awhile we see,  
By Jove enlightened with a prosperous gleam.'

What an exact description of a magic lanthorn! Lest, however, our readers should suppose that useful invention to be coeval with Pindar, we must observe that the happy thought of rendering a dream visible by the instrumentality of a prosperous gleam, is entirely the translator's property. This indeed, is far from being the only difference between our translator and his renowned original; and with all our partiality to the latter, we cannot in common fairness conceal, that Mr. Lee's incognito has greatly the advantage of the Grecian bard in the power of producing the most innocent, and (Pindar himself being judge) the most natural effect of poetry. That influence we mean to which even the wakeful eagle of Jupiter was subject, and Mars himself resigned his homicidal spear.

ὁ δὲ κλέπτει  
Τυφὸς ἄνθρωπον ἀνέμῳ, τῆμα;

Πινάρῳ καταρχήν. Καὶ γὰρ δια-  
τὰς Ἀγῆς, τραχὺς ἀνδρὶ δαίμων  
Ἑρχέρι ἀμάρ, λαλῶν καλῶς  
Κόμῳ.

But our respect for the tranquillizing virtues of the new translation, is not altogether unmixed with surprise at the perseverance of Mr. Lee; who professes to have read it carefully through with a reference to the original. What effect the original may produce on him we know not, but the pertinacious perusal of the translation we are inclined to consider as a most singular case of wakefulness; and we are exceedingly curious to learn by what means he was enabled to repel that powerful invader, which sits so heavily on his adopted pages. In another edition he may perhaps inform us whether his attention was preserved by dropping, as was the custom of Aristotle, a brazen ball into a basin of the same material; or, as is sometimes related of the same philosopher, by a poultice of boiling oil on the pit of his stomach. At present we cannot help hinting our suspicions that these precautions have not been altogether effectual, and that both translator and editor have sometimes followed the example of the eagle. But for this, the 'reference to the original,' to which Mr. Lee lays claim, might we think have discovered some slight mistakes in quantity, which are to be found in greater or less number in almost every ode; and which arise chiefly from a singular and systematic production of the penultima in such proper names as 'Iamus,' 'Ænomäus,' 'Pitane,' 'Nemea,' and above all in 'Æneas,' confounding, as it should seem, the Bœotian minstrel with the son of Venus and Anchises. It is, however, but labour lost to expose the faults of a production which is almost without a merit. Were we of that school of critics who employ their time, like Pindar's own Hyperboreans, in immolating long-eared hecatombs to Apollo, yet the *εὐκρίματα* of such a foundered sacrifice as this translation, would hardly be acceptable at the shrine of our divinity. For the pious, the learned, and the elegant West, we can only wish, that he may have better company in future: for though he is frequently deficient in fire, and sometimes in simplicity; though he often overlays the force and brevity of Pindar by useless verbiage, and has perhaps, in almost every instance, failed to give an adequate idea of the broad and characteristic manner of the ancient bard; yet in correctness of taste, and harmony of numbers, he is still very superior to the remaining crowd of aspirants; and is seen perhaps even to greater advantage, when compared with the dulness of Mr. Lee's well-born foundling, and the harsh and involved numbers of Mr. Girdlestone. Yet is Mr. Girdlestone a scholar, and, we should apprehend, a man of genius. There are many traits in his work which proceed from no ordinary hand, and there is in

his

his notes and preface a whimsical simplicity and apparent goodness of heart, which are very seldom found in company with an inferior understanding; his defects, and they are defects which may be easily surmounted, are an uncultivated taste and an unpractised ear; and if we were not unfortunately sensible how slow an author is to take advice, we should hope that even these strictures might be of service to his future fame.

There are evidently in his writings hopes of far better fruit than the production before us. West perhaps had too subdued a strain of poetry; Mr. Girdlestone, on the other hand, is too often aiming at force and fire, and sometimes fancies himself spirited, when he is in fact only abrupt. When Pindar tells us that Theron had attained the *Herculean Pillars* or (as a later poet would have said) the *Thule* of renown, Mr. Girdlestone by a strange confusion of metaphor, asserts that

— His virtues *strike* the farthest land  
Quick-glancing where Alcides' columns stand.

In the 4th Nemean, 'Τραχὺς δὲ παλιγκότοις ἔρδρος' is rendered

'Sharp he pounce'd his foe.'

So fond indeed does he appear of abruptness, that he is often unintelligibly elliptical, where Pindar is as plain and narrative as Homer. The prayer of Pelops to Neptune, 1 Ol. Ant. 3.

— σῖδαςιν ἔγχρι

'Ομομάν χαλκον

Εμὶ δ' ἰσὶ ταχυλά-

τινι περικυτοις ἀρμέται

'Ες Ἄλιν—

'Επεὶ τρεῖς γι καὶ δὴν ἄνδρας ἑλίσσαις

'Ερῶντας, ἀναβάλλεται γάμον

Θυγατρός.—

is abridged into the following bombastic imprecation.

'From fierce CEnomaus' hand the spear

Dash, whose hideous, brazen glare,

The trembling lover's panting breast appalls.'

In the following instance we are driven to the Greek to make out the meaning. The legend of Laius and his son CEdipus, which Pindar narrates as plainly as Mr. Scott could have done, is thus rendered:

'Such strains of ever varying fate

Burst o'er the destin'd murderer's breast;

Led by mysterious power the king he meets;

Wretch! by thy hand thy father's blood is shed!'

The extent, however, to which Mr. Girdlestone carries the doctrine of ellipsis, may be best observed in a passage taken from an ode  
on

on the death of Lord Nelson, prefixed to this translation. We are informed in a note, (nor did we ever feel more strongly the need of a commentary,) that,

\* Who but some guardian angel of our land  
Blinded the foe, and seal'd with steady hand  
The bond of fate?

is to be understood of Lord Nelson's sealing a letter with wax during the engagement off Copenhagen. Oh Lycophron, how art thou obscure! Yet does this extraordinary brevity appear to be less the effect of principle than of caprice; for we find that where the translator himself has been pleased, he has extended a few words of his original through as many lines as West could have done.

This passage occurs in Ol. 1. Ant. 2.

— ὅθι μητρὶ πολλὰ μαίε-  
μνοι φῶτις ἀγαγόν.—

Let us see how far a skilful wire-drawer can extend a single grain of gold.

— in rapid flight

Transported o'er th'etherial deep,

His friends he leaves, who search and weep;

Unheard their cries, far, far below

At length the bitter tale of woe

Returning back, a sorrowing train

They bring his weeping mother, vain

All search! he never more shall bless her sight.

The opening of a work may be generally considered as no unfavourable specimen of its author's manner. Mr. Girdlestone thus begins the first Olympic ode.

' Best of all nature water flows:

Nought amid treasures richer glows

Than gold which gleams like fire; whose light

Shoots through the bosom of the night;

Proud gold that swells man's heart. My Soul!

Seek not another star to roll

Along the desert air with livelier fires

When the sun warms the brightening day;

Or shouldst thou try the tuneful lay

Heroes illustrious feats to praise,

Can wreath-bound victory nobler raise

To Fame the loud triumphal strain

Than from Olympia's sacred plain?

Rise then ye bards, whose soul the muse inspires,

Through all his courts the happy Hiero sing

Victorious; strike your harps to Jove, Olympia's king!

This is by no means easy or harmonious, nor can it be considered



as close or literal; we have all the stiffness of translation, without its accuracy. To the remainder of the ode, the same observation will nearly apply. *Ἀκίνητον* in the first Antistrophe, West had literally translated 'unwhipped.' Mr. Girdlestone renders it, 'the whip he scorns.' *Ἀμέραι ἐπὶ λυτοί* Strophe 2, is posterity, not 'sunrise.' Why should strangers (Strophe 4) 'weep' for Pelops? Pindar only says that they walked in procession round the neighbouring altar of Jupiter; without attributing to their eyes such an abundance of moisture, as to whine over an ancient king with whom they had no connection, unless his being buried near the race course be considered as such. *Μημίη πάππου πόρον*, a very characteristic Pindaric admonition to Hiero, not to be too curious respecting the future decrees of Providence, is rendered here as if it were a good resolution of the poet himself.

No loftier source of praise

I seek to dignify my lays.

Which if it have any bearing on the context, can only mean, that he sought no better reason for praising Hiero than the certainty that he was a man of rank. But it is not such errors as these, which can materially impede the popularity or the usefulness of Mr. Girdlestone's translation; and there are to counterbalance them, many insulated expressions, and even entire passages, of great merit.

The notes and preface exhibit much poetical feeling, modesty and candour, all of them however blended with a tincture of absurdity. In one place he addresses his reader with a solemnity worthy of Cid Hamet Benengeli. 'Know then reader, &c.' in another he talks of Priam's 'sliddering in his son's gore.' We cannot praise the pedagogical jocularly which, in the notes on the sixth olympic ode, is exercised on Pauw and Heyne; and still less the flippant excuse for the wanton mistranslation of *Περσεύης Περσεύου*. Pyth. 4.

'The learned have assigned several reasons for Neptune's title, none of which would seem pleasant to an English reader. I have therefore taken the liberty to substitute poetry for learning, which I think Pindar would not disapprove.'—p. 160.

Why the common interpretation, which derives this title from Neptune's having cleft the rocks of Thessaly, should offend an English reader, we know not; but we are sure that Pindar would remonstrate against the sophistication of his ode with such common-place trumpery as

'Who on his rocky throne rules ocean with his nod.'

On the whole, however, we must repeat our first observation; that if Mr. Girdlestone has failed, it cannot be esteemed a disgraceful failure; that his faults may all be considered as curable; that

that he has learning and talent which do credit to those whom he addresses as his patrons; and that he has, to all appearance, an honest and simple nature, on which such patronage will never be thrown away.

Mr. Gardlestone has adhered with more strictness than any previous translator, to the accurate division of his odes into strophe, antistrophe, and epode; an arrangement, which though it be supported by very great authority, we are tempted to consider as unnecessary, not to say pedantic, — ill adapted to the nature and intention of modern verse, and by no means an essential part of even the ancient ode. The first who revived this arrangement among the moderns, says Dr. Johnson, was Congreve; a name of no great note in lyric poetry, but to whom he ascribes the merit of curing our Pindaric madness, and teaching the English that the odes of Pindar were regular. Yet surely that regularity is rather to the fancy than the ear, which consists in the recurrence of lines of equal length at the distance of perhaps a page and a half. Nor can it be supposed that such scholars as Cowley, Milton, and Dryden were ignorant of an arrangement familiar to every school-boy; or that if they had thought it essential or advisable, they would not have employed it in their professed imitations of the ode and chorus of antiquity. Besides, if this regularity were so constituent a part of Pindaric poetry, what are we to think of the monostrophics which Pindar himself and all the other bards of Greece were in the habit of using? A little attention to the reasons of this general arrangement among the ancients will be sufficient, we think, to show that its utility has entirely ceased, and that it is no more to be adopted in translations of Pindar than the *Selah* of the Hebrews is to be inserted in a version of the Psalms.

The Grecian scholiasts have given a very unsatisfactory account of the strophe, antistrophe, and epode, by asserting that they were taken from the music of the spheres, with many other fooleries which it is not worth the while to repeat. Nor do we attribute much more weight to the common opinion, that such odes as these were sung by a chorus, who first danced to the right, then to the left, and then stood still. For, not to mention that this, even if it were true, (however it may account for the equal length of the whole strophe as compared to the whole antistrophe,) will by no means explain why their respective lines should severally so exactly correspond; we have pretty good reason for believing that this was by no means universally the case. The praises of the Olympic victor were often sung by a chorus, escorting him in solemn procession from the lists to his own lodging; and it is evident that such evolutions as are here described, would not only be very in-

convenient

convenient in the narrow and crowded street of a Grecian city; but, as they consisted in merely dancing backwards and forwards, must have been inconsistent with any progress at all. But in truth, it appears from unquestionable authority, that these magnificent odes were not condemned to be mangled by the voices of hired singers, or the contortions of ballet-dancers, but were generally recited by the poet himself. It is thus that Aristophanes introduces his lyric bard intruding himself and his verses on the festival of Nephelococcugia; and it is thus that Pindar himself is described as singing his hymns to Apollo,—not trotting to and fro on the floor of the temple, but seated aloft in an iron chair or pulpit. No one in fact can read the first or the sixth olympic odes without perceiving at once how much of their beauty and good sense depended on being recited by their author. The rapid transitions, so much in the manner of a skillful improvisatore, who changes his subject as soon as he finds it becoming wearisome; the allusions to the banquet then before them,—to the songs which they had just heard,—and to the persons present; the compliments to the musicians and to the patron of the feast, and the artful mention of the poet's own feelings, history, or necessities, would all have been absurd and offensive in any mouth but his own. Mr. Scott's *Last Minstrel* might, in his proper person, touch with feeling and propriety on his own dependance on the great, or on the sorrows to which he had been exposed; but how would it sound if, in a birth-day ode, the children of the chapel royal, speaking in the name of the laureate, should request an increase of salary, or (as Pindar does in the fragment parodied by Aristophanes) the reversion of a worn-out state coach?

But though the reasons given by the grammarians be insufficient or absurd, yet since the bard was always accompanied by a band of musicians, there was an evident necessity that the *air* should be arranged before hand; there was a convenience that it should be also short, and to reconcile this with the variety which either poet or musician would be anxious to obtain, the epode was invented by Stesichorus, which broke what would else have been the tedious recurrence of the same uniform stanza. The use, then, of these divisions was exclusively musical; and as,—whatever was the fate of the original odes,—the translations, at least, are neither to be sung nor danced, we cannot see the necessity of retaining them. As far as the ear is concerned, they have no perceivable effect, since the first line is forgotten before its correspondent one is read; and we may appeal to all the ordinary admirers of English poetry, if they can detect the want of this arrangement in 'Alexander's Feast,' or, except by the eye, perceive that it is observed in 'The Progress of Poetry.' The real cause of the failure of our early English

English Pindarics (which Congreve attributed to the irregularity of their metre) is to be found in the absurdity and bad taste of their language; its metaphysical subtleties,—its eternal antithesis,—its puns and quibbles,—its frequent bombast,—and its ridiculous specimens of anticlimax. Of these abominations, indeed, our English poetry has long been altogether purified; but it may perhaps be doubted whether our power of attracting and preserving attention has increased in an equal proportion with our correctness. Cowley, whose very errors must not be spoken of without respect, in spite of the manifold corruptions of his style, and the wretched ornaments with which he loaded the simple majesty of his original, could yet, by the mere force of genius, joined to the power of seizing and embodying in another language the vivid ideas of Pindar, electrify, with two short specimens, the whole mass of English readers, and produce a lasting enthusiasm for even the abuse of lyric poetry. How different, notwithstanding their boasted regularity, has been the fate of succeeding imitators! West, with all his elegance and learning, is chiefly, we are afraid, considered as a resource for school boys; and the other adventurers in this Icarian flight have successively journeyed in silence from the press to the pastrycook's, without name,—without notice,—and almost without criticism.

There have not been wanting some who have accounted for this indifference of the public to Pindar's translations, by reflections on the manner and subject of Pindar himself; who have imagined that allusions so exclusively antique must be unintelligible or wearisome to the general mass of readers; that few men would sympathize in feelings which they could not understand without a scholar; and that the praises of King Hiero's horses could be listened to with little interest by any but his own grooms or flatterers. But where the spirit exists of real and genuine poetry, (and that such a spirit does exist in Pindar, the testimony of ages may be considered as sufficient authority,) we are slow to believe, however his local and temporary allusions may, from the lapse of time, be deprived of their application, that the general interests of his work can suffer from such a circumstance. The glowing description,—the generous sentiment,—the images and comparisons taken from natural objects,—these all remain unchanged, however forms of society or of manners may vary, or however the persons or objects may have perished to which the particular reference originally pointed. Short, indeed, would be the date of poetry, if its interest was only to continue while these temporary allusions were in force, or only to survive among that educated few to whom the manners and history of all past ages are present. But popular authors, in every age, abound, in fact, as much as Pindar, with these local and temporary

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porary ornaments; and if they had contented themselves with such loose and general imagery as left nothing to incur the risk of being obscure to posterity, it might be doubted whether posterity would have enjoyed any knowledge of their works at all.

With still less reason is the meanness of Pindar's subject alleged against the general merit of his poems. In the golden days of Greece, and when the nation had really other things to think of, we hear indeed little or nothing of the Olympic victors; and it was only in those ages, when the glory and the games of their fathers were objects alike of antiquarian research, that their enslaved and effeminate sophists, with the natural credulity of a conquered nation, extolled without moderation even the amusements of their illustrious ancestry. But the insignificance of a crown of olive, or the little merit which a king of Sicily could claim for his horses' swiftness, can in no case militate against the well-earned reputation of their panegyrist. We know by daily experience, that the powers of a genuine poet, whatever calls them forth, whether St. Cecilia's Festival or Lady Austen's *Sopha*, will ever produce something which posterity will not be willing to lose, however indifferent they may feel to the occasion which gave it birth. In Pindar's case more particularly, the triumphs of Theon or Agesidamus are as irrelevant to his poems as frames and canvases to the merits of a picture; and he hardly troubles his head with the mention of his employer, when his fancy is once embarked in the great sea of tradition and mythology. A more reasonable objection may be made to the perpetual introduction of deities and demigods, and to the languor and nausea which, in almost every modern reader, arises from the tedious and ever recurring Pantheon of classical poetry. But we are indeed mistaken, if we expect to find in the odes of Pindar, a polytheism as degraded and insipid as that which is familiar to school-boys. Where he acquired his notions may be difficult perhaps to decide; but the hell and heaven and retributive doctrines of the Theban rise as far above those of Homer, Ovid, and Virgil, as the prophetic writings of the Old Testament surpass those of Pindar himself. His Zeus is a much more awful being than the Jupiter we are accustomed to meet; and even Zeus himself, in one of his fragments, appears to shrink into nothing before that 'blessed one,' whom alone the beatified spirits of the just are described as adoring with hymns, in their dwellings above the firmament. When to these majestic flights of poetry, we add the singular wildness of his heroic legends; his pleasing though melancholy morality, and his graceful manner of blending sentiment with description,—an invention which never wearies, and a fancy which, where common minds would gasp for breath, appears but in its natural element, and as if unconscious

conscious of extraordinary elevation;—we need not wonder that such an author was popular when alive, and after death almost adored; and that his works have been from Plato to Milton considered as the great and inexhaustible storehouse of poetry and eloquence.

To transfuse even the shadow of such beauties into another language is indeed an arduous adventure; and if Mr. Girdlestone has failed, it must be remembered that he has not failed alone. West himself, though in taste and smoothness he has left nothing to desire except the completion of his volume, yet by the languor of accumulated ornament, and by that artificial manner which better suited the meridian of Versailles than that of Etolia, has overwhelmed in a great measure, and extinguished the natural ease and spirit of the ancient minstrel. By this indeed, which is the besetting sin of all translators, no original author has suffered more than Pindar. His imitators have been so dazzled with his occasional sublimity, that they have never known where to stop their career on the safe side of bombast, and have entirely forgotten that, if his sentiments are lofty and glowing, his language is uniformly simple.

Above all, with a fastidious nicety which would fain improve upon their author, they have carefully softened down the natural inequalities of his style, and daubed over with the same thick varnish, or, as the French would call it, *onction*, alike his loftiest and his most playful excursions. His proverbs, his pedigrees, his disputes with contemporary bards, and his indignation at the Boeotian nick-name of 'swine,' are either entirely planed away as beneath the dignity of poetry, or translated with the same pomp of language as his addresses to the Sire of Gods, and his descriptions of heaven and hell. The ease and absence of all apparent effort, which is, perhaps, his most characteristic feature, is thus entirely sacrificed; the effect of his sublimest flights is diminished into an uniform flutter, and, in the zeal to make him invariably splendid, the translators have too often made him formal and tiresome.

Such compositions as theirs may indeed obtain the praise of elegance and equable dignity, but if they had been recited in an ancient hall to a company of warriors and wrestlers, the bard and his musicians would soon have performed to empty benches.

When we consider the situation of the poet of Thebes, so similar, in almost every circumstance, to that of the minstrel of a more modern chivalry, we cannot wonder at the resemblance which may sometimes be found in their style of composition, and which constitutes, in fact, that second manner of Pindar which Longinus observed, though he failed to appreciate the merit which, in its proper place, it possesses. In this respect, indeed, as well as in his mixture of sententious morality, and his light and sketchy touches



touches of nature, none of his professed translators can afford so just an idea of the beauties of Pindar as the most popular of our present bards. His wild and singular mythology may offer many points of comparison with Dante, and still more with some conspicuous descriptions in 'The Curse of Kehama;' but, in the general tenour of his style and language, those who are really familiar with Pindar will oftenest trace a resemblance to one by whom that resemblance, we may venture to say, has never been suspected, the minstrel of Loch Katrine and Branksome.

That the following experiments (for it will be readily seen that they claim no higher rank) have succeeded in catching a likeness of the animated features of the 'Olympian Prophet,' we certainly dare not venture to hope. Such as they are, they have the merit of a pretty close adherence to the original, and may illustrate, though in a very humble manner, some of the positions maintained in the present article.

TO HIERO THE SYRACUSAN, VICTOR IN THE RACE OF SINGLE HORSES.

OLYMP I.

Noblest work of nature's mold,  
 Water claims the sage's lay;  
 Noblest spoil that monarchs hold,  
 Bright and fearless of decay,  
 Meaner wealth must yield to gold  
 As darkness to the torch's ray.  
 Who, when the sun's full majesty  
 Towers in strong meridian sway,  
 Would seek along the empty sky  
 A warmer star, a purer day?  
 O thou, my soul, whose choral song  
 Would tell of contest sharp and strong,  
 Extol not other lists above  
 The circus of Olympian Jove;  
 Whence, borne on many a tuneful tongue,  
 To Saturn's seed the anthem sung  
 Hath sped to Hiero's hall away!

Over sheep-clad Sicily,  
 Who the righteous sceptre beareth,  
 Every flower of virtue's tree,  
 Wove in various wreath, he weareth.  
 But the bud of poesy  
 Is the fairest flower of all,  
 Which the bards in festive glee  
 Strew round Hiero's wealthy hall.

The harp on yonder beam suspended,  
 Seize it, boy, for Pisa's sake,  
 And that good steed whose thought will wake  
 A joy with anxious fondness blended !  
 No sounding scourge his sleek side rended,  
 By Alpheus' brink with feet of flame,  
 Self-driven, to the prize he tended,  
 And earn'd the olive wreath of fame  
 For that dear lord, whose righteous name  
 The sons of Syracuse tell :  
 Who loves the generous courser well,  
 Belov'd himself by all who dwell  
 In Pelops' Lydian colony.  
 Of earth-embracing Neptune, he  
 The darling, since in days of yore,  
 All lovely from the caldron red  
 By Clotho's spell delivered,  
 The youth an ivory shoulder bore.  
 —Well,— these are tales of mystery !  
 And many a darkly-woven lie  
 With men will easy credence gain,  
 When truth, calm truth, may speak in vain.  
 For eloquence, whose honey'd away  
 Our frailer mortal wits obey,  
 Can honour give to actions ill,  
 And faith to deeds incredible.  
 For tyrant's wrong, for hero's praise,  
 Trust thou the tale of after days.  
 But if we dare the deeds rehearse  
 Of those that aye endure,  
 'Twere meet that in such dangerous verse  
 Our every word were pure.  
 Then, Son of Tantalus, receive  
 This plain unvarnish'd lay !  
 My song shall elder fables leave,  
 And of thy parent say  
 That, when in heaven, a favour'd guest,  
 He call'd the Gods in turn to feast  
 At Sipylus his lov'd abode :  
 The glorious trident-bearing God  
 (Can mortal form such favour prove ?)  
 Rapt thee on golden car above  
 To highest house of mighty Jove ;  
 To which in after day,  
 Came golden-haired Ganymede,  
 As ancient bards in story read,  
 The darkwing'd eagle's prey.  
 And when no human tongue could tell  
 The fate of thee, invisible,

Nor friends who sought thee wide in vain,  
To sooth thy weeping mother's pain,  
Could bring the wanderer home again,

Some envious neighbour's spleen  
In distant hints, and darkly said,  
That in the caldron hissing red,  
And on the God's great table spread,

Thy mangled limbs were seen.  
But who shall tax (I dare not, I)  
The blessed Gods with gluttony?  
Full oft the slanderous tongue hath felt,  
By their high wrath, the thunder dealt,  
And sure, if ever mortal head  
Heaven's holy watchmen honoured,

That head was Lydia's lord:  
Yet could not human heart digest  
The wonders of that awful feast,  
Elate with pride the thought unblest,

Above his nature soar'd.  
And now condemn'd to endless dread  
(Such is the righteous doom of fate)  
He eyes above his guilty head

The shadowy rock's impending weight:  
The fourth with that tormented three  
In horrible society!

For that in frantic theft  
The nectar cup he reft  
And to his mortal peers in feasting pour'd,  
In whom a sin it were  
With mortal lip to share  
The mystic dainties of th' immortal board.  
And who by policy  
Can hope to 'scape the eye  
Of Him who sits above, by men and Gods ador'd?

For such offence, a doom severe  
Sent down his son to sojourn here,  
Among the fleeting race of man:  
Who, when the curly down began  
To clothe his cheek in darker shade,  
To car-borne Pisa's royal maid  
A lover's tender service paid.  
But in the darkness first he stood  
Alone by ocean's hoary flood,  
And rais'd to him the suppliant cry,  
The hoarse earth-shaking Deity.  
Nor call'd in vain, through cloud and storm  
Half-seen, a huge and shadowy form  
The God of waters came!

He came, whom thus the youth address'd :—  
Oh thou ! if that eternal breast

Have felt a lover's flame,  
A lover's prayer in pity hear,  
Repel the tyrant's brazen spear  
That guards my lovely dame ;  
And grant a car, whose rolling speed  
May help a lover at his need ;  
Condemn'd by Pisa's hand to bleed,  
Unless I win the envied meed  
In Elis' field of fame.

For youthful knights thirteen  
By him have slaughter'd been,  
His daughter vexing with perverse delay :  
Such to a coward's eye  
Were evil augury ;  
Nor durst a coward's heart the strife essay.  
Yet since alike to all  
The doom of death must fall,  
Ah wherefore, sitting in unseemly shade,  
Wear out a nameless life  
Remote from noble strife  
And all the sweet applause to valour paid ?  
Yes, I will dare the course, but thou,  
Immortal friend, my prayer allow !

Thus, not in vain, his grief he told.  
The ruler of the watery space  
Bestow'd a wonderous car of gold,  
And tireless steeds of winged pace.  
So, victor in the deathful race,  
He tam'd the strength of Pisa's king,  
And from his bride of beauteous face  
Beheld a stock of warriors spring,  
Six valiant sons, as fables sing.  
But now with fame and glory crown'd,  
Where Alpheus' stream with watery ring  
Encloses half the lofty mound,  
He sleeps beneath the piled ground,  
Near that bless'd spot where strangers move  
In many a long procession round  
The altar of protecting Jove.  
But in th' Olympian lists of fame  
Survives the noble Pelops' name,  
Where strength of hands and nimble feet  
In stern and deadly contest meet ;  
And high renown and honey'd praise,  
And after length of honour'd days,  
The victor's weary toil repays.

But

But what are past or future joys?  
 The present is our own;  
 And he is wise who best employs  
 The passing hour alone.  
 To crown with knightly wreath the king,  
 (A grateful task,) be mine,  
 And on the smooth Eolian string  
 Resound his lofty line.  
 For ne'er shall wandering poet find  
 A chief so just, a host so kind;  
 With every grace of fortune blest,  
 The mightiest, wisest, bravest, best.

God, who beholdeth thee, and all thy deeds,  
 Have thee in charge king Hiero!—so again  
 The bard may sing thy horny-boofed steeds,  
 In frequent triumph o'er th' Olympian plain.  
 Nor will the bard awake a lowly strain  
 His wild notes flinging o'er the Cronian steep,  
 Whose ready Muse, and not invok'd in vain,  
 For such high mark her strongest shaft will keep.

Each hath his proper eminence,  
 To kings indulgent providence  
 (No farther seek the will of heaven)  
 The glories of the earth hath given.  
 Still may'st thou reign! enough for me  
 To dwell with heroes like to thee,  
 Myself the chief of Grecian minstrelsy.

TO THERON OF AGRAGAS, VICTOR IN THE RACE OF CHARIOTS.

OLYMP. II.

Oh song, to whom the harp obeys,  
 Accordant, aye, with answering string,  
 What God, what Hero, wilt thou praise,  
 What man of godlike prowess sing?  
 Lo, Jove himself is Pisa's king;  
 And Jove's strong son was first to raise  
 The barrier of the Olympic ring;  
 And now, victorious on the wing  
 Of sounding wheels, our bards proclaim  
 The stranger Theron's honour'd name,  
 The flower of no ignoble race,  
 And prop of ancient Agragas:  
 Whose patient sires for many a year,  
 Where that blue river rolls his flood,  
 'Mid fruitless war and civil blood,  
 Essay'd their sacred home to rear;

Till time adorn'd in fated hour  
 Their native worth with wealth and power,  
 And made them from their low degree  
 The eye of warlike Sicily.

And may the God of ancient birth,  
 From Saturn sprung and parent earth,  
 Of tall Olympus Lord ;  
 Who marks with still benignant eye  
 The game's long splendour sweeping by,  
 And Alpheus' holy ford ;  
 Appeals'd by anthems chaunted high,  
 To Theron's late posterity

A happier doom accord !  
 Or good, or ill, the past is gone ;  
 Nor Time himself, the parent one,  
 Can make the former deeds undone :  
 But who would these recall,  
 When happier days would fain efface  
 Remembrance of the past disgrace,  
 And from the Gods on Theron's race  
 Unbounded blessings fall ?

Example meet for such a song  
 The sister queens of Cadmus' blood,  
 Who sorrow's smart endured long,  
 Made keener by remember'd good.  
 Yet now, she breathes the air of heaven,  
 On earth by smouldering thunder riven,  
 Long haired Semele.  
 To Pallas dear is she,  
 Dear to the Sire of Gods, and dear  
 To him her son, in festal glee  
 Who shakes the ivy-wreathed spear.

And thus, they tell, that deep below  
 The sounding ocean's ebb and flow,  
 Amid the daughters of the sea  
 A sister nymph must lino be,  
 And dwell in bliss eternally.  
 But, ignorant and blind,  
 We little know the coming hour ;  
 Or if the latter day shall lower,  
 Or if to nature's kindly power  
 Our life in peace resign'd,  
 Shall sink like fall of summer eve  
 And on the face of darkness leave  
 A ruddy smile behind.  
 For grief and joy in fitful gale  
 The crazy bark by turns assail ;

And,



And, whence our blessings flow,  
 That same tremendous providence  
 Will oft a varying doom dispense,  
 And lay the mighty low,  
 To Theban Laius that befell,  
 Whose son, with murder diel,  
 Fulfill'd the former oracle,  
 Unconscious parricide!  
 Unconscious!—yet avenging hell  
 Pursued the dark offender's pace;  
 And heavy, sure, and hard it fell,  
 The curse of blood on all his race!  
 Spar'd from their kindred strife,  
 The young Thersander's life,  
 Stern Polynices' heir was left alone:  
 In every martial game,  
 And in the field of fame  
 For early force, and matchless prowess known;  
 Was left the pride and prop to be  
 Of good Adrastus' pedigree.  
 And hence, through loins of ancient kings,  
 The warrior blood of Theron springs:  
 Exalted name! to whom belong  
 The minstrel's harp, the poet's song;  
 In fair Olympia crown'd;  
 And where, 'mid Pythia's olives blue,  
 An equal lot his brothers drew;  
 And where his twice twain coursers flew  
 The isthmus twelve times round.  
 Such honour, earn'd by toil and care,  
 May well his ancient wrongs repair;  
 And wealth unstain'd by pride  
 Can laugh at fortune's fickle power  
 And blameless in the tempting hour  
 Of dangerous ease abide,  
 Led by that star of heavenly ray  
 Which best in life's bewilder'd way  
 Our erring feet may guide.  
 For, whose holds in righteousness the throne,  
 He in his heart hath known  
 How the foul spirits of the sinful dead,  
 In chambers dark and dread  
 Of nether earth abide and penal flame;  
 Where he whom none may name  
 Lays bare the soul with stern necessity;  
 Seated in judgment high,  
 The minister of God, whose arm is there,  
 In heaven alike and hell, almighty every where!

But

But ever bright, by day, by night,  
 Exulting in eternal light,  
 From labour free and long distress,  
 The good enjoy their happiness.  
 No more the stubborn soil they cleave,  
 Nor stem for scanty food the wave,  
 But with the venerable Gods they dwell.  
 No tear bedims their thankful eye,  
 Nor mars their long tranquillity,  
 While those accursed howl in pangs unspeakable !

But who the thrice-renew'd probation  
 Of either world can well endure,  
 And keep, with righteous destination,  
 The soul from all transgression pure ;  
 To such and such alone is given  
 To walk the rainbow paths of heaven,  
 To that tall city of Eternal Time,  
 Where ocean's balmy breezes play ;  
 And flashing to the western day,  
 The gorgeous blossoms of such blessed clime,  
 Now in the happy isles are seen  
 To sparkle through the groves of green ;  
 And now, all glorious to behold,  
 Tinge the wave with floating gold.

Hence are their garlands woven, hence their hands  
 Fill'd with triumphal palm, the righteous doom  
 Of Rhadamanthus ; whom o'er these his lands,  
 A blameless judge in every age to come,  
 Chronos, old Chronos, Sire of Gods hath placed ;

Who with his consort dear  
 Dread Rhea, reigneth here,  
 On cloudy throne with deathless honour graced.

And still, they say, in high communion,  
 Peleus and Cadmus here abide ;

And with the blest in blessed union,  
 (Nor Jove has Thetis' prayer denied,)

The daughter of the ancient sea  
 Hath brought her warrior boy to be ;

Him whose stern avenging blow  
 Laid the prop of Ilium low ;

Hector, trained to slaughter fell,  
 By all but him invincible ;

And sea-born Cygnus tam'd, and slew  
 Aurora's knight of Ethiop hue.

Beneath my rattling belt I bear  
 A sheaf of arrows keen and clear ;  
 Of vocal shafts that wildly fly,  
 Nor ken the base their import high,

Yet

Yet to the wise they breathe no vulgar melody.

Yes!—he is wise whom nature's power

Hath rais'd above the crowd;

But, train'd in study's formal hour,

There are who hate the minstrel's power,

As daws who mark the eagle tower,

And croak in envy loud.

So let them rail!—but thou, my heart,

Rest on the bow thy levell'd dart;

Nor seek a worthier aim

For arrow sent on friendship's wing,

Than him, the Agragantine king

Who best thy song may claim.

For by eternal truth I swear,

His parent town shall scantily bear

A soul to every friend so dear,

A life so void of blame:

Though twenty lustres rolling round,

With rising youth her nation crown'd,

In heart in hand should none be found

Like Theron's honour'd name.

Yes—we have heard the factious cry,

But let the babbling vulgar try

To blot his praise with tyranny:

Seek thou the ocean strand;

And when thy soul would fain record

The bounteous deeds of yonder Lord,

Go, reckon up the sand!

ART. X *Reflections on the Nature and Extent of the Licence Trade.* pp. 78. Budd. 1811.

*An Enquiry into the State of our Commercial Relations with the Northern Powers, with reference to our Trade with them under the Regulation of Licences.* pp. 110. Hatchard. 1811.

THE subject of the licence trade did not, we believe, till lately, begin to attract any considerable share of public curiosity. It was, indeed, notorious that our accustomed commerce with the shores of Northern Europe had long since been interrupted by the enemy; that for the purpose of diminishing the inconveniences which might result to this country from such interruption, an indirect intercourse, protected by licences, had been opened by our government; and that the policy of this measure was by no means universally admitted by those who are best acquainted with the commercial relations of this country. But the minds of men have been long engrossed by questions of great and immediate importance to the community; and the disorders alleged to exist in a  
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single branch of our extensive trade, would probably have continued to be overlooked, had not the nature and extent of these disorders been developed, and their connections with the essential interests of the community pointed out, in a memorial, addressed to the Board of Trade by the merchants of Hull, and published in all the daily papers. About the same time were published the two pamphlets which we are about to consider, and which, though in some respects at variance with each other, evince the same hostility to the licence trade, and are also, so far, in complete unison with the above mentioned memorial.

That a system so very reprehensible as that which these several documents concur in describing, should have been deliberately adopted by the Board of Trade so long ago as 1808, and continued during that, and the two following years, without exciting any remonstrance on the part of the mercantile body, who, on the 4th of April, 1811, became so much awake to all its demerits, is so strange, as to be almost incredible. But the mysteries in which the whole subject is involved, will doubtless be, in due time, removed. We shall, for the present, content ourselves with giving a brief abstract of the two pamphlets before us, and with adding such remarks on their contents, as they may appear to require, without venturing any opinion on a case, of which the whole merits have not been yet laid before the public.

The author of the 'Reflections' has intentionally restricted himself to those arguments which he thinks himself able to substantiate, by an appeal to the long established principles of our national policy; to the regulations of public law; or to the moral feelings of mankind. He has barely noticed, without condescending to expatiate upon, the most obvious, and in our apprehension, the most conclusive objection to the measure, namely, 'that it subjects the whole trade of the country to the controul of the executive government, and, that when commercial speculations become the result of peculiar privileges, it must follow, of course, that the privileges will be liable to be obtained by favour, and extorted by intrigue.' The substance of his reasoning therefore, when divested of the numerous authorities, by which it is, perhaps, unnecessarily supported, may be comprehended in a very short compass.

It is self-evident that a state of war between two countries, imposes on the subjects of each the necessity of abstaining from any direct commercial intercourse with the other, because, a declaration of war is always the act of the highest authority in the state. Every attempt made by individuals on either side to engage in such an intercourse, must, if unsanctioned by a particular permission, be construed as an act of treason towards their respective sovereigns: and consequently, the government, which, in any instance, sanctions

sanctions the trade, must be, in that instance, at variance with its own declarations of hostility. It is no less evident that neither of the belligerents can secure impunity to the subjects of the other in the prosecution of such a traffic; nor can it hold out, to its own, any well-founded hope of reciprocal advantage. Every commercial licence therefore, is in its nature an anomaly; a suspension of a general law; an exception from general practice; justifiable in a few solitary cases; but only justifiable in each, by the importance of the purpose for which such deviation is permitted.

Now it appears, from documents laid on the table of the House of Lords, that upwards of 15,000 licences were issued by the Privy Council in the course of the year 1809, and that 48,000 foreign seamen were employed in the trade thus licensed. The numbers of both, as our author informs us, were very greatly augmented during the year 1810; in so much that nearly the whole trade of the world appeared to be carried on under licences; and he affirms it to be notorious to those who are conversant with the questions litigated in the Court of Admiralty, that the vessels protected by these licences are, with very few exceptions, manned and navigated by the enemies of the state.

If these allegations be well-founded, it cannot be denied that the whole code of our former commercial regulations, though not formally abrogated, has been silently supplanted by a new system of policy; and that the vast trade of this country which the legislature had, for two centuries, continued to cherish and protect, as the foundation of our naval greatness, has lately, by the express sanction of government, been rendered subservient to the purposes of the enemy.

To promote the construction of British shipping, and the increase of British seamen, was the professed motive of numerous laws enacted from the middle of the seventeenth century to the year 1786, when the principle of our navigation code was most distinctly confirmed; and, although it should be questioned whether the interference of government in commercial concerns is ever beneficial, it must at least be conceded, that such interposition was, in this case, well intended: besides which, it is well known that the object to be attained was always a favourite with the nation; and that, to the statutes enacted for its attainment, our commercial prosperity and naval greatness have been very generally attributed. It is true, that for the benefit of trade itself, some exceptions were admitted to the general spirit of the navigation laws: it is also true that the eagerness with which their object was pursued appeared at times to subside; and that, during the pressure of war, it was found necessary to concede to neutrals, a share in that navigation which could no longer be engrossed without a sacrifice

crifice of our more important naval interests. But never was our adherence to the principle more steady than at those times when the practice was thus relaxed. If, for instance, it was permitted, that for the purpose of navigating our merchant ships, a majority of foreign sailors should be employed, it was in the hope that, under a British master, a part of those mariners might be (as indeed they often were) induced to enter into our service. But now, when the navy of Great Britain is the only barrier which guards the freedom of the world, and when the most formidable enemy whom we have yet encountered aspires to universal conquest, through the destruction of our commerce, the commerce of these Islands is surrendered, under the novel system of licences, as a nursery of seamen to navigate his navies! His own imperial flag cannot, indeed, appear with impunity within our harbours, but the vessels of all his tributary nations, whilst permitted to wear the badge of their former sovereignty, though navigated by his vassals, and piloted and commanded by such officers as he shall think fit to appoint, have a daily and undisturbed access to every part of our coasts; and it thus depends upon himself to organize and discipline, under our especial protection, that corps of mariners, which he has avowed to be the only instrument necessary to the completion of his ambitious projects.

A second, and no less important objection, to the system of licences, is the encouragement which it holds out to the dissemination of immorality and bad faith: for such, it seems, is the facility with which licences are granted by the Privy Council, and so easy their transfer from hand to hand, that they are, in many parts of the continent, by no means an unusual article of sale. Their market price is known to have been, in Norway, about five hundred guilders; and at Amsterdam about seven hundred rix dollars; whilst at Bourdeaux it has varied with the varying tenour of Buonaparte's decrees. Provided with one of these instruments, the foreign owner of the vessel which it is designed to protect, proceeds to furnish himself with a double set of papers, so complete in every part, and so skilfully framed, that they can scarcely fail to deceive the cruizers of either belligerent with respect to the real destination of the cargo. As a farther precaution, *both sets of papers are verified by the oath of the captain*; and, from the notoriety of this practice, that solemn test of truth, on which so much reliance is placed by all other courts of justice is, in the discussion of prize causes completely disregarded.

\* This then (says the author) being the actual state of the trade, if we consider that there are, at this moment, many thousand vessels navigating the various seas of Europe with these double sets of documents, we cannot be surprised, either at the complicated machinery of deceit,

or



or at the disgusting details of falsehood and perjury, which the examination of these cases disclose. A person unacquainted with the history of the traffic which is now carried on, under the cover of British licences, could scarcely form to himself an idea of the labyrinths of mystery and fraud, by which the mercantile transactions of the present day are enveloped and obscured.' p. 31.

A third objection to the system is, that it exposes us to suffer by gross abuses which it is out of our power to controul. Of these abuses, indeed, we have little right to complain. We invite foreign merchants and mariners to violate the laws enacted by their own government; to consider the profits of an illicit trade as cheaply purchased by deliberate perjury; we put into their hands an engine of deceit which secures them from detection; and having thus taught them to emancipate themselves from the restraint of every moral principle, we ought to expect that they will dupe us in our turn, whenever it shall suit their interest. Whilst we issue licences which expressly protect against the vigilance of our own cruisers 'vessels bearing any flag except the French—notwithstanding all the documents which accompany the ship and cargo may represent the same to be destined to any neutral or hostile port, or to whomsoever such property may appear to belong,' it would be strange indeed if the enemy should find any difficulty in availing himself of an expedient, by which he is relieved from the expence of insurance. The fact has been abundantly proved.

'It has even happened (says our author) that two successive importations to Amsterdam have been attempted under cover of the same British licence. Examples, too, are not wanting of vessels having licences to import commodities from France, being employed in the coasting trade of that kingdom; and during the course of the last summer, whole fleets, which were privileged to bring cargoes from Russia and Denmark to this country, were actually employed in importing naval stores, and other Baltic produce, into those parts of Prussia and Swedish Pomerania, which are in the occupation of the French troops. In a word, it may fairly be computed, that of the last two hundred vessels detained for the adjudication of the High Court of Admiralty in this country, at least three-fourths have been proceeded against on the sole ground of their carrying on the commerce of the enemy, under the protection of British licences.' pp. 44, 45.

A fourth objection to the system is, that it operates unjustly, because unequally, upon the trade of different neutral nations. Here it must be recollected that by the Order of Council of the 26th April, 1809, it is decreed 'that all ports and places as far north as the river Ems inclusively, &c. &c. shall continue, and be subject to the same restrictions in point of trade and navigation without any exception, as if the same were actually blockaded by his Majesty's

*Majesty's naval forces in the most strict and rigorous manner.* These words cannot be liable to misconstruction. The virtual blockade imposed by them is declared to be as complete as if the whole interdicted coast were actually besieged by a squadron adequate to cut off all commercial communication. It is, profess- edly, an innovation on the usual doctrines of maritime law; an in- novation provoked by the violence of the enemy; an act of reta- liation required, perhaps, by a just sense of our national dignity, and justifiable on these grounds; but, surely, no longer justifiable, than whilst it is executed with inflexible impartiality. To the re- monstrances of the Americans or other neutrals, who protested against our abridgment of their commerce, we had a right to an- swer, that their own tame submission to the arrogant and unjust pretensions of our enemy, precluded them from any claim of re- dress, on account of those injuries which any measure of effectual resistance that we could oppose to such pretensions, must un- avoidably occasion. But from this answer we are now debarred. Whilst every American vessel, navigated by mariners of her own country, laden with the produce of the United States, and fitted out on the sole account of American merchants, has, when de- tected within the limits of the virtual blockade, been seized and confiscated,—the same authority which instituted the interdict, has granted permission indiscriminately, if not to the native subjects, at least to all the vassals of France, to conduct their ships into the forbidden ports, and to return with cargoes, *‘to whomsoever the same may appear to belong.’*

The result of these reasonings shall be given in the words of the pamphlet. p. 57.

‘Upon the whole, if the author is correct in his apprehension of the facts that have been enumerated, as well as of the influence deducible from them, it must be obvious, that the licence trade, in its present ex- tended state, has effected an entire revolution in that code of laws, under which the European trade of this country has, for nearly two centuries, been fostered and encouraged, and under which our naval empire has gradually been advanced and extended, and finally elevated to a vantage ground, unparalleled in the history of the world.

‘It must be equally obvious, that, as a political measure, it is founded on an unsound and unnatural base;—that it is calculated to disseminate over a large portion of the civilized globe, principles the most opposite to true wisdom and true policy;—to overturn ancient and established maxims of morality and good faith;—to do away all those honourable and sure tests of upright and sincere conduct, which courts of the law of nations have in all times respected and upheld;—in a word, that it is calculated to dissolve one of the material links in that chain, by which the all-wise and beneficent Father of the Universe has bound to- gether the happiness and the duty of the human race.

‘Lastly,

\* Lastly, it must be obvious, that besides affording the enemy a secure nursery for his military marine, it presents to him every facility of carrying on, under the protection of British licences, that traffic, which the vigilance and activity of British cruisers could otherwise intercept and annihilate.

Dismissing this pamphlet for the present, we proceed to the 'Inquiry, &c.' the author of which takes a very different view of the subject, and embraces a greater variety of topics.

He begins by a retrospect of the principal changes which have taken place in the political and commercial relations between Great Britain and the northern powers since the memorable treaty of Tilsit, in July 1807. He observes that, after the acquiescence of Alexander in the conditions of that treaty, there remained only one measure by means of which Great Britain could hope to recover some degree of influence in Russia; which was, by the retention of Zealand, from whence her naval power could have constantly menaced all the coasts of the Baltic, and given security to our commerce. That the Danes, whom the boldness of our enterprise had overawed, and whom a steady government and a due attention to their protection might have conciliated, having been left to their first feelings of resentment and revenge after the capture of their fleet—whilst Prussia was surrendered to the power, and Russia to the intrigues, of France—it could not but be foreseen that the projects, so long entertained by Buonaparte, of excluding our commerce from the north of Europe, must shortly be consummated. In fact, from that time, all access to the harbours of the Baltic, those of Sweden alone excepted, has been denied to our merchants, or conceded for the sole purpose of promoting the views and gratifying the rapacity of our enemy.

To those, who justly estimated the enormous power of that enemy; his consummate skill; his perseverance; his unrelenting severity; and the terror which he inspires; it must have been plain that our regular commercial intercourse with the countries under his controul lay wholly at his mercy. But it was hoped that a secret and unavowed trade, to a considerable extent, might still be practicable. It was supposed that nearly all the princes of Europe were adverse to the continental system, which they were compelled to enforce in their public acts; and that their subjects, harassed by the most painful privations, would gladly catch at every means of evading those restrictions which their fears prevented them from openly resisting. If these opinions were false, and if a mutual exchange of produce between Great Britain and the continent could not be effected, by the ingenuity of our merchants conspiring with the wants and wishes of all Europe, it seems evident that the efforts of the British government for the  
extension

extension of trade, could not but be powerless. Their intervention could only be mischievous, by giving publicity to those commercial transactions, which depended for their success on the most impenetrable concealment. It may therefore be presumed, that the strange measure of licensing, to an indefinite amount, the imports from all quarters, unaccompanied, as it necessarily was, by any security for the export of our own manufactures or produce, was extorted from our cabinet by some commercial speculators; or at least, that the perseverance in the experiment, notwithstanding the various distresses which it has occasioned, is to be attributed to the importunity of such interested advisers.

Respecting the nature and tendency of these licences, the author, with whom we are at present occupied, has added nothing to the general reasoning which we have already adduced; but his knowledge of commercial affairs has furnished him with some additional illustrations and facts, by which that reasoning is supported. He describes with much minuteness the process by which our own instruments are employed to our own injury; he corroborates (p. 32) the statement that, 'in the course of the year 1810, not less than thirty-seven vessels provided with such licences safely arrived, from Archangel, in the ports of Holland, laden chiefly with naval stores.' He shews that whilst British ventures in the Baltic trade were charged with an enormous insurance which, after all, was by no means commensurate with the risk incurred by the underwriters, the enemy was supplied, through the aid of our licences, at a comparatively small expense: because the detection of British property on board a vessel captured by the enemy, was followed by the loss of ship and cargo; whilst the only penalty imposed by us on the licensed trader, when detained in consequence of abusing his privilege, was the necessity of disposing of his cargo at the British market. He appeals (p. 36) in proof of the general advantages derived by foreign powers from our mistaken policy, to the late commercial regulations published by the courts of Russia and Denmark; of which it is perfectly manifest that, 'the real object is to protect and secure to the enemy that trade, which, without the aid of British licences, would be quite annihilated,' and he contends that, 'whilst we have submitted to evils of this magnitude, we have in a great measure failed in the main object for which, it is presumed, the licence system was established.'

The untoward events of the last two years could not fail to raise, very considerably, the price of all the articles usually imported into this country; and the extent of this rise, which threatened us with a dearth of the materials absolutely necessary for the construction and equipment of our navy, may be supposed to have been

been the chief consideration which induced our government to adopt, in 1808, the licence system. Whether the emergency was such as to demand a temporary recourse to such new and extraordinary measures, it is needless to inquire; but it is notorious that, through the medium of the licence trade, we were, during the two following years, inundated and overwhelmed by an unparalleled excess of imports; that the prices at which these imports were sold were inadequate to repay the first cost of the articles added to the enormous freights exacted by the foreign carriers; that a general reliance on the protection attributed to licences produced very extensive speculations in the export of British and colonial produce; that fleets thus laden have been successively confiscated; and that whilst, in consequence of this state of things, the amount of duties on our custom-house books has appeared to indicate an unusual prosperity in our national commerce, the real situation of the mercantile world has been, and is, calamitous beyond all former example.

We will not follow the author through his laboured discussion of the modifications by which the licence system might have been rendered somewhat less injurious; nor examine his remarks on the various concurrent accidents which introduced, into all the various branches of our commerce, one general spirit of adventurous speculation; but will proceed to state the opinion which it seems to have been his principal wish to promulgate; namely, that the unfavourable state of our foreign exchanges; the actual depreciation of our currency; and the extravagant price of bullion, are the necessary consequences of the system which we have been considering; and that, so long as this system shall continue, the resumption of cash payments by the Bank must be impossible. We will endeavour to exhibit, very briefly, the substance of the reasoning employed by the author in support of his opinions, which do not exactly coincide with any which have been entertained, either by the advocates, or by the opponents of the Restriction Bill.

He admits that the doctrine of the balance of payments rests on a most suspicious foundation; he also admits, that the question, whether the issues of Bank paper be excessive, is one, which he cannot undertake to decide; but he is disposed to think that the greatly increased amount of taxes imposed during the last fourteen years, and regularly paid to government, may have required a considerable augment of the circulating medium; and that the metallic part of that medium which has disappeared, having been replaced by paper, the total value of this paper, great as it unquestionably is, may possibly be only sufficient for the regular wants of the country. The extent of these wants cannot be exactly known, consequently the excess of paper can only be inferred from the

state of our foreign exchanges, the price of bullion, &c. that is to say, from those effects, which, if it existed, it would be likely to produce—or from the injudicious rules adopted by the Directors of the Bank, &c. &c.

But he insists that the test of our foreign exchanges is far from proving the excess of our paper currency, whilst it affords conclusive evidence in favour of his opinion. The Bank Restriction Bill was passed in February 1797. Now it appears, by a table of the monthly, as well as yearly, rates of exchange on Hamburgh, that, from the commencement of that year to the close of 1810, a period of fourteen years, the rate of the general average coincides almost exactly with the *par*, a coincidence, which proves that the oscillations of the exchange continued to compensate each other, notwithstanding the constant agency of a cause which ought to have depressed the balance more and more below the line of equilibrium. It is farther remarkable that during nearly five of these years, (i. e. from January 1803 to September 1808,) in spite of a progressive increase of our paper currency, from 19½ to 18 millions, the exchange continued to be favourable to this country. But in the last mentioned year, the system of licences was adopted, and in the month of October of the same year, the exchange began to experience a progressive depression, which continued almost without interruption till the month of March of the present year 1814, when it amounted to about 30 per cent. in other words, every pound sterling of our present currency, invested in the purchase of a bill on Hamburgh, has been depreciated by about one-third of its value.

Such a depreciation might certainly result, and has often resulted from a disordered currency; but it is admitted that at least a part of it may be produced by an unnatural state of commerce. It cannot be denied that at present trade is shaken to its foundations. That reasoning therefore which is the most incontestible, when applied to the commercial intercourse of nations who are permitted to satisfy their respective wants by mutually bartering the produce of their superfluous labour, may be totally inapplicable to a state of the world, in which the interests and passions of nearly one quarter of the globe are sacrificed to the caprices of a single man. He decreed that the ports of the European continent should be closed against the exports of Great Britain; and our markets, for a time, became glutted with the produce of our fisheries, of our colonies, and of our manufacturing industry. The resolution of the Spanish peninsula, by opening to us an access to the South American markets, relieved us from a part of our superfluities; and, perhaps, rather increased our customary supply of the precious metals; but at the same time, still further augmented our  
redundance



redundance of trans-Atlantic commodities. Had we remained passive, or persevered in the measures of retaliation which we had for a moment adopted, the northern nations must have been reduced to the necessity of imploring admission to our ports on our own terms; but we relieved them from that necessity, by soliciting and bribing them to accept the advantages of the British market, unaccompanied by any pledge of reciprocal benefits. Is it, then, incredible that the numerous demands of this country, occasioned by such a trade, and by the simultaneous expenses attending our military and naval operations, should have produced a permanently unfavourable state of our foreign exchanges; an extravagant rise in the price of bullion; and a corresponding depreciation of currency?

Here two objections may be started; the first against the fact, and the second against the inference.

It may be said that the reports of the Inspector General of the Customs, presented to the Bullion Committee, indicate a favourable balance on our trade with the continent, during the five years 1805, 6, 7, 8, and 9, amounting, even if calculated on the *real* values of the exports and imports, to 8,800,000*l.* or on an average about 1,760,000*l.* per annum. To this it is answered that the calculations of Mr. Irving are indeed unimpeachable, but that the grounds of such calculations must be defective. The entries at the Custom-house can only record the amount of imports actually received; they cannot specify the number of cargoes captured by the enterprise of the enemy's cruizers; or betrayed to them by the collusion of the foreign captains; or, detained by various accidents in the Baltic, during the winter of 1809, the last year in the adduced period. Neither, though they truly recite the amount of goods shipped for exportation, can they enumerate the quantities confiscated in foreign ports, or those which, though saved from sequestration, are still lying in our warehouses at Heligoland. Yet all these particulars must come into our account: the amount of imports, and of a freight, scarcely less expensive than the imports themselves, which we have contracted to pay; and that of the exports which have been really available in discharge of such debt, must be compared, before we can form a just estimate of that balance, which our Custom-house reports undoubtedly indicate, but concerning which the list of bankruptcies (a document equally official) appears to give a very different testimony.

The objection against the inference is, that a losing trade must always tend to correct itself; that therefore the unfavourable symptoms which it produces, can never be permanent, and that a long continuance of those symptoms is a proof that the disease arises from an excess of currency. To this it is answered, that if this

reasoning be conformable to general experience, it is because, an extravagant rate of exchange is capable of being checked by the transfer of bullion; and a high price of bullion by an increased importation of it, in return for some other article. But it may be safely affirmed, that in this country bullion is, at present, really scarce, and that an increased supply of it, except to a very limited amount, is unattainable. The country from which Europe derives its principal yearly supply of the precious metals, is glutted with our manufactures; at that market, therefore, bullion is become much dearer than usual with reference to those articles, by means of which we have always been accustomed to purchase it. The losses of the traders to South America cannot be doubted, after the application addressed to the legislature in behalf of the sufferers by this, as well as by other branches of commerce. It may be said, that *Hamburgh*, *Amsterdam*, and other places, could furnish a sufficient supply for all our purposes. They certainly could, if we were able to convey to them an equivalent return; but that is impracticable. Every post which arrives from the continent announces the execution of Buonaparte's anti-commercial decrees, and evinces the insufficiency of mercantile artifice when opposed to his absolute power, and unremitting vigilance. That some British manufactures, and a considerable amount of colonial produce, introduced almost insensibly, and through a variety of small and unsuspected channels did, for a time, obtain admittance to the continental markets, is, indeed, indicated by the recorded rates of exchange. Some clandestine traffic in these articles may still exist; and tend to check, in some measure, that drain of the precious metals, which is daily becoming more formidable, and of which the existence is proved by the depreciation of our paper. That paper is depreciated with reference to all other articles, as well as to gold and silver, has, indeed, been asserted, but the assertion is manifestly untrue, with respect to all the necessaries of life, of which the nominal value has not even experienced that degree of rise, which might have been expected from the natural effect of increased taxation; and it probably would be difficult to point out a single article of which the dearthness is at all proportionate to that of the precious metals.

This slight sketch will perhaps be sufficient to explain those peculiar opinions of the author, which are connected with the much litigated question with respect to our circulation. His concluding advice shall be given in his own words:

'The only effectual means of remedying the various evils which at present exist, with regard to the state of the commerce of the country, its circulating medium, and its finances, is to regulate our commercial relations by the maxims of a more vigorous and decisive line of policy.

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As the prohibitory system, which is now so rigidly enforced on the continent, precludes us from the benefits of any export trade to it, it is indispensably requisite, that we should endeavour to counteract this evil, by opposing to it similar measures.—If, however, any exception be made to the general plan of closing our ports against *all importations from those countries, where our exports are not admitted*, it should be confined to the admission of such articles only as are of indispensable necessity. There are but few commodities which we could not procure from other places, with which we should at the same time have the full benefit of a reciprocity of commerce; and there can be no doubt, that, by judicious arrangements, we might, in a very short period, render ourselves completely independant of the Baltic powers.—Pursuing that course of commercial policy which the peculiar circumstances of the country appear so urgently to require, we should admit of an unrestricted export-trade, and limit the importations from those countries alone, where our exports find admittance, deviating from this principle only in cases of absolute necessity. Should such measures fail in their intended effect, as to a general commerce, they would at least counteract that most injurious balance against this country, which arises from our excessive importations from the continent. They would consequently, too, be eminently conducive to the re-instatement of an advantageous course of exchange, and would reduce the present very high price of bullion, which has been principally occasioned by its great depression. The apparent depreciation in our paper currency would be corrected, and its relative value would soon be nearly, or quite equalized with the intrinsic value of the precious metals.

On the first of the two pamphlets with which we have been occupied, we have very little to remark. The writer's arguments, admitting the correctness of the premises, which, in the present state of our information, we are unable to controvert, are fairly deduced, and his expressions, though earnest and vehement, are not intemperate. The only passage which we must except from this general commendation, occurs in p. 61, where he deduces the licence trade from the orders in council, and represents it as 'the legitimate offspring of that unnatural measure,'—as 'deeply imbued with the hereditary taint of the parent stock, &c.' We entirely object to this metaphorical filiation. We admit that our government, when they retorted the defiance of the enemy, and subjected his coasts to the blockade which he had proclaimed against ours, reserved to themselves the privilege of excepting, from the general interdict, the commerce of those neutrals who should acquire a claim to such indulgence by vindicating the just rights of neutrality. But we deny that any modification of a measure which we are still inclined to consider as wise and dignified, and which certainly breathed a spirit of open and undisguised hostility, can be fairly assimilated to a system which is described as a tissue of simulation and dissimulation,

tion, and as tending to undermine the foundations of justice, and of moral feeling.

The second pamphlet possesses the singular merit of preserving, throughout, the same unassuming tone which is employed in the preface. It contains a good deal of information, though not always happily arranged; and the author appears to have studied, with much attention, the interest and policy of the northern powers, particularly of Russia; and to have suggested the most probable means of counteracting the influence of France in that part of Europe. On the much contested subject of our currency, his arguments, we think, are sometimes embarrassing, but by no means conclusive. We know not how to defend the alleged amount of our favourable balance of trade against his objections; and we are not sure, that even by establishing the alleged amount of it, we should satisfactorily refute his principal position. Mr. Irving has stated (App. Bul. Com. No. 73.) the favourable balances on our whole trade, during the five years ending with 1809, as forming an aggregate of fifty millions; which gives an annual average of ten millions. It is to be observed, however, that in his estimate, he considers the freight as principally paid to British ship-owners. Now, it has been asserted by authority, that the freight alone, which was paid to foreigners in 1810, amounted to five millions; and that, during the same year, our foreign expenditure did not fall short of eleven millions. On these grounds, therefore, we have our doubts, whether the national income is, in fact, sufficient to furnish the pecuniary means of defraying the national expenditure.

If this be, indeed, our situation; if, notwithstanding all the boasted advantages of our improved agriculture, it be necessary for us to send out annually about seven millions in bullion or coin for the purchase of wheat; if our military expenses must also be defrayed by a constant emission of the precious metals; and if our stock of bullion cannot be annually replenished; it certainly follows that there is an urgent necessity for the adoption of the remedy recommended by our author, and that the repeal of the restriction bill would not have enabled us to persevere with impunity in a trade which he represents as equally disadvantageous and immoral. But so far only, in our estimation, do his arguments warrant his conclusion. If the efflux of the precious metals be rendered, by our own impolitic acts, more rapid than its influx, let us resolve to adopt a more rational system of policy which will stop the drain. But why couple this resolution with a manifest absurdity? Why issue promissory notes, of which the payment is known to be impossible, and declared to be illegal? Why call that money which is circulating credit; which, because it is so, is subject to indefinite variations of price; and why alter, by means of this misnomer, the

the legitimate and definite measure of value?—But it is time to take leave of our author, and of a question, the real merits of which must soon be placed out of the reach of controversy by the unerring test of experience.

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ART. XI. *Psyche, with other Poems.* By the late Mrs. Henry Tighe, large 4to. pp. 314. Longman. London. 1811.

THE poem from which this volume takes its title, though hitherto unpublished, was, as the editors inform us, printed for private circulation some years ago. The death of the author very naturally suggested to her friends the idea of more widely diffusing these memorials of her taste and talents; and the admiration which *the Legend of Love* is known to have excited within the limited sphere of its previous existence, no less naturally renders it, on its public appearance, an object of curious attention to the critic.

With the poem, the editors have reprinted a preface, which the author originally prefixed to it, and which is explanatory of her general design. This was no other than to shadow forth, under the guise of a tale, altered from the ancient and beautiful apologue of Cupid and Psyche, the trials and triumphs of virtuous love. Mrs. Tighe here professes her despair of affording universal satisfaction even to the small and, as may be supposed, indulgent circle of readers whom she was addressing; and this, from her consciousness that there were some among them, to whom all allegorical writing was distasteful. She does not, however, stop to examine the justice of the prejudices entertained by persons of this disposition; nor are we, on our part, inclined to revive the discussion of a question which the commentators and critics on Spenser have discussed to satiety. At the same time, it appears to us that those writers afford few clear ideas on the manner in which an allegorical representation of moral truth may best aim to produce its effect; or, in other words, at the exact object and properties of this species of composition; and, since from the due resolution of that question must be derived the only test by which the merit of a particular individual of the species can be decisively tried, we may be pardoned for bestowing on it a few words.

According to popular conception, the fundamental principle of poetic allegories of the moral kind, is that they add fresh attractiveness to the lessons of virtue and practical wisdom, by clothing them in all the mingled fascinations of narrative and poetry. Pure and just sentiments, it is supposed, when thus set forth, recommend

themselves to the fancy by the accompaniment, and to the memory by the association of complicated incident, and brilliant description. But, though it may be allowed that compositions of this class are not ill calculated to serve the general purpose of conveying pleasure and instruction, we greatly doubt whether the vulgar notion of the process by which the operation is effected, be correct. It is not quite apparent to us that the excellence of such compositions in practice, exactly coincides with their excellence in theory.

The perfection of allegorical poetry, as indeed of all ornamented narrative, must, to a great degree, obviously consist in its graphical truth and vigour:—in the creative and *realizing* faculty of the poet;—in the skill with which he infuses life and individuality into all his scenes and figures. It can hardly be denied, therefore, that, so far as immediate and powerful impression is concerned, the effect produced on us by the productions referred to, is proportional, not to our perception and recognition of their emblematical character, but rather to our forgetfulness, or at least, to our neglect, of that circumstance. For the time, we surrender our minds to the belief of their actual and literal truth. It is not meant to be affirmed that the illusion ever is, or can be complete; but merely, that, to the force of the illusion, whatever it be, the interest excited must generally bear a given relation; and, by consequence, that the poetical effectiveness of the story is, thus far, altogether independent of its didactic tendency. No man, of the most ordinary sensibility, ever read the noble description, in Spenser, of the single combat between the Redcross Knight and the Saracen Sansjoy, who could allow himself to reflect that, by this visible battle, with all its picturesque circumstances of prelude, was symbolized a conflict purely mental, or the struggle in the mind of a Christian between the principles of religion and infidelity. The same remark may be exemplified with respect to the splendid portrait of Prince Arthur, on his first rencounter with Una.

Upon the top of all his lofty crest,  
A bunch of hairs discolour'd diversely,  
With sprinkled pearl and gold full richly drest,  
Did shake, and seem'd to dance for jollity;  
Like to an almond-tree ymounted high  
On top of green Selinis all alone,  
With blossoms brave bedecked daintily,  
Whose tender locks do tremble every one  
At every little breath that under heaven is blown.

Surely it is impossible that any mind, endowed with a capacity to feel the beauties of such exquisite imagery, or to appreciate the rest of the description, should divert its regards from this splendid picture

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picture of a knight of the old romance, to the abstract or mental quality of *magnificence*, which it was professedly designed to personify.

Passion, indeed, must have its pauses. The glow of enthusiasm will intermit or subside; and, in a lucid interval, we may exercise our curiosity in exploring the latent virtues of the 'fairy-fiction' which has hitherto only delighted our senses. Yet, undoubtedly, it still remains a question whether the poetic interest produced by an allegorical composition has the effect of conciliating us to the moral lessons deposited beneath; nor does it furnish any answer to say that, after we have ceased to be interested by the composition as a narrative or a poem, we are at leisure to profit by it as a discourse on ethics. Even this remark, however, is less than the truth. The admiration inspired by the perusal of such a work, will generally remain in sufficient strength to indispose the mind for the business of torturing it by analysis. We shall always be slow to decompound a gem which, in its crystallized state, is of such eminent beauty.

It may perhaps be said that, after all, it is of some importance to preserve moral truth by embalming it in rich and immortal verse. Thus maxims of great practical importance, we shall be told, are potentially, though not actually, retained in the memory of mankind; and, though seldom sought, it is at least known where, when wanted, they may be found.

Those, however, who may be inclined to urge this argument, should reflect on the extreme simplicity even of the most refined morality which it is within the competence of allegory to inculcate. To delineate in language the subtle essences and exquisite play of the more delicate among the mental affections,—to exemplify the principles of ethical wisdom in their application to the numberless exigencies of social life,—is a task, at all events, sufficiently difficult of execution; but which it would be no more possible to accomplish by the gross machinery of continued personification, than to dissect an eye with a pick-axe. Whenever, accordingly, allegory ventures beyond the limits of truism and common-place, it is found to become incomprehensible, and must consequently be useless. It has been made an objection to Spenser, that 'his moral lies too bare;' yet it is not always easy to decypher the emblems even of Spenser, nor was that admirable writer himself unaware of their occasional obscurity. 'Knowing,' he observes in his letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, 'how doubtfully all allegories may be construed; and this booke of mine, which I have entitled *The Faery Queene*, being a continued *Allegory*, or *darke conceit*; I have thought good, as well for avoyding of gealous opinions and misconstructions, as also for your better light in reading thereof,

thereof, (being so by you commanded,) to discover unto you the general intention and meaning, which in the whole course thereof I have fashioned.' If the quotation be in other respects unimportant, yet on the general subject at least of allegorical writing, the judgment of so illustrious a master of the art must be esteemed without appeal. In effect, the maxims which have ever been intelligibly enforced in this species of composition, will prove, on examination, to be not more momentous than they are trite. That the passions are good servants but bad masters,—that it is dangerous to dally with temptation,—that it is the part of folly to sacrifice the future to the present,—such are the lessons taught by allegory;—lessons, which, indeed, no man sufficiently feels and values, but which, so far as the mere act of reminiscence is concerned, no man surely ever forgets; lessons, therefore, which, to impress on the minds of men, would be of the highest moment, but which, for the simple purpose of being preserved, hardly require so costly a repository as an epic poem.

Notwithstanding the remarks which we have offered, we are far from affirming the utter inefficacy of allegorical writing for the purposes which it professes to answer, although we conceive that it can answer those purposes only indirectly. It is within the option, as it appears to us, of the writer to apply it to the requisite use, by availing himself of the opportunities which this style of composition affords him, of digressing into reflections of a moral or sentimental cast. The attention of him who reads such productions, has, as we have already observed, its breathing-places. In the intervals of the narration, we become calm; and fully perceive, and not without a somewhat irksome feeling, the unsubstantial and *faïry* nature of the pageant at which we have been gazing. During these moments, should the fabulist employ himself in presenting us with a cold analysis of his own fictions,—should he compel us carefully to thrid back the mazes of allegory,—he would merely aggravate our dissatisfaction into disgust. But he may moralize, we apprehend, in a happier strain. Borrowing a hint from his subject, he may yet forget for a while his story; he may come home to our bosoms with some intimate and touching sentiment, and may thus sweetly lead us from the excitements of gorgeous description or perplexed action into the tranquil recesses of contemplation. By this device, when skilfully practised, he not only effects his main object of inspiring virtuous emotions and principles, but, at the same time, accomplishes the additional end of relieving and consequently invigorating our attention.

All poetry, we are sensible, furnishes scope for the occasional indulgence of the museful and moralizing mood. But the ethical allegory must, from its very nature, abound in these facilities be-

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yond most other kinds of composition; and in no other, assuredly, are we supplied with so ready a transition from the splendid and picturesque delineation of visible objects to the development of moral truth and the expression of just sentiment. On the side of allegory, the regions of sense immediately adjoin, if we may so describe it, to those of reason and philosophy, and, from the wild and *Arabesque scenery* of fairy-land, we may pass at once into the bowers of *Academe*.

The sum, then, of our remarks on this head, is, that the capabilities of moral fable are limited; that we must not ask of the fabulist, profound lectures on human duty, for we should ask more than he has the means of giving; nor an elaborate decomposition of his own inventions into their moral elements, for we should repent of our request if granted; but that we may fairly require him to intersperse his relation with general and interesting reflections on the great truths which form its subject. It gives us pleasure to add that, so far as we can judge from the execution of the work before us, Mrs. Tighe, guided perhaps rather by taste than by principle, seems to have formed, respecting the nature of moral allegory, notions similar to our own. Her conception was, we are persuaded, just; and, during the course of the farther strictures which we are about to offer on her work, we shall have the opportunity of exemplifying, by an instance or two, the manner in which she has carried that conception into effect.

The fable, which forms the basis of the present poem, is, beyond doubt, universally known to our readers. On the particular application of it to the pains and pleasures of love, we would observe that though not, we believe, new, this mode of adapting the story yet seems of modern origin. In what sense the fable was construed by the ancients, does not appear to be very exactly known; but it is generally supposed to have figured some species or state of intercourse between the human soul and the Deity. The romance, therefore, or, as we might almost venture to call it, the poem, of Apuleius on the subject, ranks with that mystical order of writings, in which the various workings of the religious passion are typified by the hopes and fears of an amatory attachment;—a style of composition, which has, in all ages, captivated the luxuriant imaginations of the Oriental rhapsodists, from the Vedanti-philosophers of Hindostan, to the Sufi-sect of Persia. A poetic version of the fable of *Psyche*, constructed on this principle, appeared in English about twenty years ago. It had the credit of having been penned, if we mistake not, by a gentleman of Norwich, and, though decidedly inferior to the poem before us, does not want merit.

Little

Little doubt, however, can be entertained, that a better use is made of the allegory by Mrs. Tighe, than if she had adopted it in its original sense. That it is possible for the mystical poetry to be in fact, as it is in profession, devotional, we are fully inclined to admit. But by many of those who have cultivated it, the veil of sanctity has unquestionably been employed, like the secrecy and seclusion of the ancient mysteries, only to conceal the indulgences which it was ostensibly designed to exclude. The hierophant has lighted up his altar with fires, not only less holy than those of heaven, but also less *vestal* than the chaste though cold flame of fancy; and, for histories of devotion in the disguise of love, have been substituted histories of love in the disguise of devotion. If, in some cases, this abuse has been the effect of design, we are persuaded that, in others, the poet, instead of intending to deceive others, has in effect deceived himself, and, perhaps, has been the only person deceived. On the whole, therefore, this is a style, of which the general use can scarcely be encouraged, and which, even where there exists the most unimpeachable purity of purpose, can be managed only by a firmness and delicacy of hand rarely possessed in combination. If, however, the experiment is, after all, to be made, then a question seems to arise whether fitter machinery may not be found for the substratum of the allegory than mythology can furnish. Among the legendary stores of polytheism, many fables doubtless exist, which are either sublime or beautiful; but even these—connected as they are, always with falsity, generally with a mass of extravagance, folly, meanness, and impurity, and bearing no very equivocal features of such connection—are little worthy to be employed as the vehicles of the most awful truths that can engage the attention, command the reverence, or exercise the hopes, of mankind. A mixture is thus effected, by which not only all our notions of congruity and propriety in writing are shocked, but which is revolting to a far deeper set of feelings and principles than those which constitute taste. In strictness, all modern or, at least, Christian use of mythology, is, perhaps, liable to the same objection; but it is evidently liable to the objection in incomparably different degrees, according to the manner in which the fable is applied.

Declining the consecrated ground of the mystics, Mrs. Tighe is content to become the poetess of love; of 'such love as the purest bosom might confess.' She betrays, however, some apprehension lest the subject should incur the frown of severer moralists. Of this timidity we do not profess altogether to understand the grounds: nor can conceive why innocent love should be frowned on by any moralist whose frown is worth deprecating. The author  
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quotes, indeed, on the occasion, a portentous sentiment from La Rochefoucault; 'Les jeunes femmes, qui ne veulent point paroître coquettes, ne doivent jamais parler de l'amour comme d'une chose ou elles puissent avoir part.' But the remark of Mrs. Tighe on this maxim, is equally just and acute. 'I believe' (she says) 'it is only the false refinement of the most profligate court which could give birth to such a sentiment, and that love will always be found to have had the strongest influence where the morals have been the purest.' After all, the only tolerable objection to the subject of love, is that it is a common favourite with all writers; and to this objection the answer seems to be, that it is a common favourite with all readers. Having every other charm, it may dispense with that of novelty.

In the adaptation of the literal to the figurative story, the maintenance of a perfect accuracy would be extremely difficult; and we have already observed that it is wholly unnecessary. Some slight incoherencies may be admitted into the narrative, if the intended moral may, by these means, be more fully or more exactly brought out. On the other hand, the descriptions may be allowed to contain some circumstances which shall be purely ornamental, and shall have no anti-type in the object personified. The poetry must be indifferent indeed, which leaves the reader leisure to notice with curious criticism these petty faults. At the same time, the rule of consistency has its claims; nor can any worse accident befall an allegory, than that the war between its direct and its typical signification should become so fierce and open, as to force on our attention both of them at once, and that in a state of raging enmity. The lamentable aberrations of Spenser in this respect, are well known; and we may therefore the less wonder, that Mrs. Tighe is not entirely unexceptionable. In a literal view, her Cupid is a beautiful, amiable, and valiant youth, the husband of *Psyche*; figuratively, he represents the sentiment of virtuous love; but the story does not always hold in both senses. The first part of it is copied, with considerable fidelity, from Apuleius. To have endured, however, the allegorical superstructure here designed for it, what was thus borrowed should have undergone somewhat more of modification; for, on the plan of Mrs. Tighe, what emblematical meaning can possibly be attached to the envy with which the beauty and conquests of *Psyche* inspire *Venus*, to the incident of the oracular prophecy which *Psyche* receives of her future husband, and, indeed, to several of the adjoining incidents? Nor are these, let it be remembered, mere excrescences from the narrative, but important parts of it. Even where the author relinquishes her model and invents for herself, her allegory is not always sufficiently correct. When Cupid masters *Passion* who is described as bearing

bearing the shape of a lion, or conquers Ambition who is imaged as a knight, both the characters with which he is invested, are preserved. Not so, when he flies from Psyche in consequence of her suspicions of his constancy, or when he resents her wishes for a life of celibacy. Actions are here attributed to him, which, as applied to a mere sentiment of attachment in the mind of Psyche, seem incapable of any rational explanation.

The most obvious characteristics of the poem before us, are, a pleasing repose of style and manner, a fine purity and innocence of feeling, and a delightful ease of versification. Passages certainly occur, distinguished by force of expression, or by considerable descriptive energy; but these are not predominant, and their effect is quenched by the not uncommon intervention of languor. With several individual exceptions, therefore, the poem is, on the whole, pleasing rather than great, amiable rather than captivating. In the judicious and affectionate address prefixed to it by the editor, we are told that, even in the life-time of the author, it was borrowed with avidity and read with delight; and that the partiality of friends has already been outstripped by the applause of admirers. Whether the future progress of its fame will correspond with the past, we will not undertake to determine; but of this we are confident, that no reader, who has sufficient taste and feeling to bestow on it the applause of an admirer, will be able to help regarding the memory of the author with the partiality of a friend.

We cannot dismiss the versification of Mrs. Tighe with a single complimentary sentence. She has chosen the stanza of Spenser, a metre, now considered as sacred to allegory, and at once the richest and the most difficult of any that have been familiarly used in English. She complains that the management of it has cost her infinite trouble; and, undoubtedly, we sometimes detect, in her pages, evidence of that fact. But occasional instances of tautology, abruptness, and quaintness or violence of expression, may be found in the most elaborate poems which have been composed in this stanza, and are, in effect, inseparable from a metrical system which, of all others, makes the most immense demands at once on the copiousness and the melody of the language. Even the great father of the system has multitudes of lines which are too evidently the offspring of necessity, and which accordingly, like necessity, seem to have no law. Making allowance for these human failings, the author before us has done full justice to the structure of her verse. Her strains are sounding and numerous, without constraint or excessive complication; nor would it be difficult to extract from the poem many passages as flowing and as musical as the finest in the *Fairy Queen* or the *Castle of Indolence*.

It is now incumbent on us to submit to the reader a few specimens

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mens of Mrs. Tighe's performance; and we know not that we can begin better than with the first of the introductory stanzas. It will remind the reader of Ariosto and Spenser, and is thrown off with much spirit and gaiety.

' Let not the rugged brow the rhymes accuse,  
Which speak of gentle knights and ladies fair,  
Nor scorn the lighter labours of the muse,  
Who yet, for cruel battles would not dare  
The low-strung chords of her weak lyre prepare:  
But loves to court repose in slumb'ry lay,  
To tell of goodly bowers and gardens rare,  
Of gentle blandishments and amorous play,

And all the lore of love, in courtly verse essay."—p. 5.

Psyche is, by the command of the oracle, abandoned on a rock, and Zephyrs convey her to the palace of Cupid, in the island of pleasure. We transcribe a portion of the stanzas descriptive of this celestial residence and its wonders.

' Increasing wonder filled her ravished soul,  
For now the pompous portals opened wide,  
There, pausing o'er, with timid foot she stole  
Through halls high domed, enriched with sculptured pride,  
While gay saloons appeared on either side  
In splendid vista opening to her sight;  
And all with precious gems so beautified,  
And furnished with such exquisite delight,

' That scarce the beams of heaven emit such lustre bright.

' The amethyst was there of violet hue,  
And there the topaz shed its golden ray,  
The chrysoberyl, and the sapphire blue  
As the clear azure of a sunny day,  
Or the mild eyes where amorous glances play;  
The snow white jasper, and the opal's flame,  
The blushing ruby, and the agate grey,  
And there the gem which bears his luckless name

Whose death by Phœbus mourn'd ensured him deathless fame.'  
pp. 31, 32.

' Now through the hall melodious music stole,  
And self-prepared, the splendid banquet stands,  
Self-poured the nectar sparkles in the bowl,  
The lute and viol touched by unseen hands  
Aid the soft voices of the choral bands;  
O'er the full board a brighter lustre beams  
Thau Persia's monarch at his feast commands:  
For sweet refreshment all inviting seems  
To taste celestial food, and pure ambrosial streams."—p. 33.

After

After the nuptial ceremony, the following passage occurs, to which, as we believe, few rivals in delicacy of sentiment, style, or versification, can be found.

'Oh, you for whom I write! whose hearts can melt  
At the soft thrilling voice whose power you prove,  
You know what charm, unutterably felt,  
Attends the unexpected voice of Love:  
Above the lyre, the lute's soft notes above,  
With sweet enchantment to the soul it steals  
And bears it to Elysium's happy grove;  
You best can tell the rapture Psyche feels  
When Love's ambrosial lip the vows of Hymen seals.'—p. 34.

On the subsequent visit of *Psyche* to her sisters, those most unamiable and ill-conditioned ladies not only contrive to fill her mind with suspicions of her newly acquired lord, but insist on her assassinating him. The picture of *Psyche*, under the press of the contradictory feelings which now assail her, is expressive and true.

'Oh! have you seen, when in the northern sky  
The transient flame of lambent lightning plays,  
In quick succession lucid streamers fly,  
Now flashing roseate, and now milky rays,  
While struck with awe the astonished rustics gaze?  
Thus o'er her cheek the fleeting signals move,  
Now pale with fear, now glowing with the blaze  
Of much indignant, still confiding love,  
Now horror's lurid hue with shame's deep blushes strove.'—p. 52.

One of the most interesting points in this fable is the first discovery, by *Psyche*, of her hitherto invisible lover. We subjoin the passage in which Mrs. Tighe delineates the scene in question. With some mixture of feebleness and laxity, it has yet much merit.

'Twice, as with agitated step she went,  
The lamp expiring shone with doubtful gleam,  
As though it warned her from her rash intent:  
And twice she paused, and on its trembling beam  
Gazed with suspended breath, while voices seem  
With murmuring sound along the roof to sigh;  
As one just waking from a troublous dream,  
With palpitating heart and straining eye,  
Still fix'd with fear remains, still thinks the danger nigh.  
'Oh, daring Muse! wilt thou indeed essay  
To paint the wonders which that lamp could shew?  
And canst thou hope in living words to say  
The dazzling glories of that heavenly view?

Ah!

Ah! well I weep, that if with pencil true  
That splendid vision could be well exprest,  
The fearful awe imprudent *Psyche* knew  
Would seize with rapture every wondering breast;  
When Love's all potent charms divinely stood confest.

'All imperceptible to human touch,  
His wings display celestial essence light,  
The clear effulgence of the blaze is such,  
The brilliant plumage shines so heavenly bright  
That mortal eyes turn dazzled from the sight;  
A youth he seems in manhood's freshest years;  
Round his fair neck, as clinging with delight,  
Each golden curl resplendently appears,  
Or shades his darker brow which grace majestic wears.

'Or o'er his guileless front the ringlets bright  
Their rays of sunny lustre seem to throw,  
That front than polished ivory more white!  
His blooming cheeks with deeper blushes glow  
Than roses scattered o'er a bed of snow;  
While on his lips distilled in balmy dews,  
(Those lips divine that even in silence know  
The heart to touch) persuasion to infuse  
Still hangs a rosy charm that never vainly sues.

'The friendly curtain of indulgent sleep  
Disclosed not yet his eyes' resistless sway,  
But from their silky veil there seemed to peep  
Some brilliant glances with a softened ray,  
Which o'er his features exquisitely play,  
And all his polished limbs suffuse with light.  
Thus through some narrow space the azure day  
Sudden its cheerful rays diffusing bright,

Wide darts its lucid beams, to gild the brow of night.' pp. 53, 57.

In comparison with this sketch, we are tempted to exhibit another of the same subject. It is extracted from the poem of '*Cupid and Psyche*,' which we have already mentioned as having appeared some years ago; and the reader will discern, in some of the expressions, traces of the mystical manner of interpreting the tale.

'Now trembling, now distracted; bold,  
And now irresolute she seems;  
The blue lamp glimmers in her hold  
And in her hand the dagger gleams.  
Prepared to strike she verges near,  
The blue light glimmering from above,  
The hideous sight expects with fear,  
And—gazes on the GOD OF LOVE!  
Not such a young and wanton child  
As poets feign, or sculptors plan;

No, no, she sees with transport wild,  
 Eternal beauty veil'd in man.  
 His cheek's ingrain'd carnation glow'd  
 Like rubies on a bed of pearls,  
 And down his ivory shoulders flow'd  
 In clustering braids his golden curls.  
 Soft as the cygnet's down his wings;  
 And as the falling snow-flake fair,  
 Each light elastic feather springs,  
 And dances in the balmy air.  
 The pure and vital stream he breathes,  
 Makes e'en the lamp shine doubly bright,  
 While its gay flame enamour'd wreathes  
 And gleams with scintillating light.'

In the latter cantos of Mrs. Tighe's poem, there is a manifest declension, both of spirit and of care. Yet they contain some very beautiful verses. Those pre-existent elements of fine thoughts, and visions of yet unembodied beauty, which float round the imagination of a poet, those forms

' ——— that glitter in the Muse's ray,  
 With orient hues, unborrow'd of the sun'—

have seldom been pourtrayed with a more chaste and tender pencil than in the two following stanzas which open the fifth canto.

' Delightful visions of my lonely hours!  
 Charm of my life and solace of my care!  
 Oh! would the muse but lend proportioned powers,  
 And give me language, equal to declare  
 The wonders which she bids my fancy share,  
 When rapt in her to other worlds I fly,  
 See angel forms unutterably fair,  
 And hear the inexpressive harmony  
 That seems to float on air and warble through the sky.

' Might I the swiftly glancing scenes recall!  
 Bright as the roseate clouds of summer's eve,  
 The dreams which hold my soul in willing thrall,  
 And half my visionary days deceive,  
 Communicable shape might then receive,  
 And other hearts be ravished with the strain:  
 But scarce I seek the airy threads to weave,  
 When quick confusion mocks the fruitless pain,  
 And all the fairy forms are vanished from my brain.'

pp. 145, 146.

This passage reminded us of a description in Thompson, which, if it be coloured with somewhat more mellowness, yet seems to lose in delicacy nearly all that it gains in splendour. We shall insert

sert it, and, admiring it greatly, yet do not think that *Psyche* has reason to dread the comparison.

'And hither Morpheus sent his kindest dreams,  
Raising a world of gayer tinct and grace,  
O'er which were shadowy cast Elysian gleams,  
That play'd, in waving lights, from place to place,  
And shed a roseate smile on Nature's face.  
Not Titian's pencil e'er could so array,  
So fleece with clouds the pure ethereal space;  
Nor could it e'er such melting forms display,  
As loose on flowery beds all languishingly lay.

'No, fair illusions! artful phantoms, no!  
My muse will not attempt your fairy-land:  
She has no colours that like you can glow;  
To catch your vivid scenes, too gross her hand.'—

*Castle of Indolence, Canto I.*

We will add, from *Psyche*, yet one other extract, as a specimen of the manner in which, consonantly to the ideas thrown out in the former part of this article, Mrs. Tighe fills the interstices of her story with contemplative effusions suggested to her mind by her subject. It should be premised, however, that much less than justice is done to such a passage by exhibiting it in a detached state. Neither the pertinence, nor the full effect of a digression can be appreciated by any but those who arrive at it in the course of a progressive perusal of the entire piece.

'When vexed by cares and harassed by distress,  
The storms of fortune chill thy soul with dread,  
Let Love, consoling Love! still sweetly bless,  
And his assuasive balm benignly shed:  
His downy plumage o'er thy pillow spread  
Shall lull thy weeping sorrows to repose;  
To Love the tender heart hath ever fled,  
As on its mother's breast the infant throws

Its sobbing face, and there in sleep forget its woes.

'Oh! fondly cherish then the lovely plant,  
Which lenient Heaven hath given thy pains to ease;  
Its lustre shall thy summer hours enchant,  
And load with fragrance every prosperous breeze:  
And when rude winter shall thy roses seize,  
When nought through all thy bowers but thorns remain,  
This still with undeciduous charms shall please,  
Screen from the blast and shelter from the rain,

And still with verdure cheer the desolated plain.'—pp. 180, 181.

To *Psyche* are added, in the volume before us, a number of minor poems, not intended by the author for publication. They are of various merit; but mostly bear marks of haste or carelessness. Some

of these, however, did not our limits warn us against proceeding, we should be happy to transcribe; and as to one, we cannot refuse ourselves that satisfaction. It was the last production of the author, penned only three months before her death, and under the pressure of an illness plainly prophetic of the worst. How much of the interest, which it seems calculated to excite, must be ascribed to the circumstances amidst which it was composed, we are not able, and not very willing, to determine; but, most assuredly, the reader to whose bosom it conveys no emotion, is incompetent to feel the true charm of poetry. We have only to add, that the twelve last lines, being of very inferior execution to the rest, we shall take the liberty to omit.

ON RECEIVING A BRANCH OF MEZEREON, WHICH FLOWERED AT  
WOODSTOCK, DECEMBER, 1809.

‘Odours of Spring, my sense ye charm  
With fragrance premature;  
And, ’mid these days of dark alarm,  
Almost to hope allure.  
Methinks with purpose soft ye come  
To tell of brighter hours,  
Of May’s blue skies, abundant bloom,  
The sunny gales and showers.  
‘Alas! for me shall May in vain  
The powers of life restore;  
These eyes that weep and watch in pain  
Shall see her charms no more.  
No, no, this anguish cannot last!  
Beloved friends, adieu!  
The bitterness of death were past,  
Could I resign but you.  
‘But oh! in every mortal pang  
That rends my soul from life,  
That soul, which seems on you to hang  
Through each convulsive strife,  
Even now, with agonizing grasp  
Of terror and regret,  
To all in life its love would clasp  
Clings close and closer yet.  
‘Yet why, immortal, vital spark!  
Thus mortally oppress?  
Look up, my soul, through prospects dark,  
And bid thy terrors rest;  
Forget, forego thy earthly part,  
Thine heavenly being trust:—  
Ah, vain attempt! my coward heart  
Still shuddering clings to dust.



Oh ye! who sooth the pangs of death  
 With love's own patient care,  
 Still, still retain this fleeting breath,  
 Still pour the fervent prayer.'—pp. 307—309.

We shall close our strictures with an interesting advertisement which the editor has subjoined to this melancholy and striking poem.

'The concluding poem of this collection was the last ever composed by the author, who expired at the place where it was written, after six years of protracted malady, on the 24th of March, 1810, in the thirty-seventh year of her age. Her fears of death were perfectly removed before she quitted this scene of trial and suffering; and her spirit departed to a better state of existence, confiding with heavenly joy in the acceptance and love of her Redeemer.'—p. 311.

ART. XII. *A Narrative of a Voyage to Surinam; of a Residence there during 1805, 1806, and 1807; and of the Author's Return to Europe, by the way of North America.* By Baron Albert von Sack, Chamberlain to his Prussian Majesty. 4to. London. 1810.

THE highly embellished and fanciful frontispiece, with which the Baron Albert von Sack, Chamberlain to his Prussian Majesty, has thought it becoming to adorn the present publication, first drew our attention to it. Negroes, Indians, tropic-birds, flying-fish, dolphins, sugar canes, coffee trees, cotton plants, bananas, pine-apples, water-melons, &c. &c. formed an assemblage altogether irresistible. This happy thought of bringing under our eyes, at one glance, the most remarkable productions of a tropical climate, in some measure encouraged the conclusion, that the Baron had been equally ingenious in the literary arrangement of his volume: we saw, indeed, that the bulk was not very considerable, the type large, and the margin wide; but we still flattered ourselves that, in this small compass, much valuable matter might be contained. We opened the book, therefore, with the most pleasing expectations.

Seventeen letters, and an appendix, compose the work before us, of which twelve only relate immediately to Surinam. It appears, that these letters were originally written in the German language, and that it was the intention of the author to introduce them to the public through the medium of the German press; but the

disturbed state of the continent opposing considerable obstacles to his return to his native country, he was persuaded to lose no time in unburthening himself of the mass of information which he had collected, and to submit, without hesitation, his valuable lucubrations to the judgment of a British public. The wish to improve himself in the English language, and the tedium attendant upon a long confinement to his chamber, induced the Baron to undertake the translation himself; when finished, it was submitted to the revision of a literary friend, and at length presented to the world in the form which it now wears.

All this is told us in the preface; where we also learn, that 'the principal object in the publication of these letters is to show, by facts, that the climate of Surinam is not so unhealthy as it has been generally thought and represented in Europe.' But we are very much inclined to doubt the correctness of the assertion, that this was the *principal* object; more especially as the facts, which the Baron has adduced, by no means bear him out in his conclusions with respect to the healthiness of the colony. We rather suspect that the principal object of the publication of these letters, may be gathered from the following passages:

'The abolition of the Slave Trade has been determined upon by the Parliament of Great Britain: if it should hereafter be found, upon a fair trial, that the Africans themselves do not reap such advantages from it, as were at first expected, and if at the same time experience should shew, that the colonies are not yet come to such a state, as to do without new recruits of labourers, *perhaps the same legislature may be willing to institute some other regulations for the colonial supply and benefit.*'—(Preface, p. 4.)

And again:

'Benevolence operating at a great distance from the scene of observation naturally prompts the measures most congenial to its feelings; and to enforce their immediate adoption, either represents evils, *which do not exist, or are much exaggerated*; and suggests schemes of improvement, which the present condition of the colonies renders difficult for a speedy, and at the same time beneficial improvement.'—(Preface, p. 4.)

Should we, however, be disposed to give full credit to the Baron's assertion, that he was actuated *solely* by the desire of rescuing the colony of Surinam from the bad reputation attached to its climate; at least we may be allowed to suspect that the '*esteemed friends*,' who so earnestly recommended the publication, were influenced by motives widely different. In these letters they must have seen, as we do, a cautious, but upon that account not the less determined, attack

attack upon the policy of the late acts of the legislature with respect to the abolition of the slave-trade. Hostility to these measures is, indeed, the principal feature in the work; and this, coming from a quarter apparently uninfluenced by any interested motive, presented to us as the result of the personal investigation of an unprejudiced observer, was probably conceived more likely to produce effect, than if it had assumed a more questionable shape. But we shall enter upon this subject hereafter: at present we must turn our attention more immediately to the Baron himself, and pursue our remarks upon his epistles in the same regular series in which he has given them to the public.

In the first letter, the Chamberlain of his Prussian Majesty opens upon us in the interesting character of an invalid residing in the island of Madeira for the recovery of his health. A dread of the cold winds of February and March, which are there particularly keen and piercing, induces him to turn his thoughts towards a warmer climate, and after some little hesitation as to the country to be preferred, we find him (we confess rather unexpectedly) fixing upon Surinam, a country, that (whatever attractions it may offer to the commercial speculator) has never been supposed to possess many allurements for the valetudinarian. The Baron, however, was not of this opinion: having derived little benefit from the celebrated climate of Madeira, he was determined to try the more powerful influence of a tropical sun. At the same time he confesses, that other motives tended to influence him in his determination, and these he promises to relate to his friend upon a future occasion, (page 2.) We must, however, rest satisfied with the general plea of health, for the Baron never offers any farther elucidation of these mysterious motives either to his friend, or to the public.

On the 25th of January, 1805, our author sails from Funchal in the Jason of 300 tons, commanded by Captain Martin. Gentle breezes, and a cloudless sky are the constant attendants upon his voyage. At length, on the 19th of February, the low land of Guiana appears in sight, its immense forests apparently floating on the ocean. We are not, however, to suppose, that these three weeks are lost to the Baron, nor that he passes over, thus lightly, the circumstances of his voyage: very far from it. Reclined upon the deck of the Jason, he indulges in all the reveries of a German imagination, and these he recapitulates to his friend in a strain of benevolence, equally amiable and entertaining. Is a dolphin seen? the Baron immediately informs his friend, that it now remains only a matter of conjecture, why the ancients attributed to this fish the power and the will of rescuing the human species from a watery grave: but he hazards a *perhaps* upon the subject, which is too

characteristic of his turn of mind, to allow us to pass it by unnoticed :

‘ Perhaps, a lover seeing his fair companion trembling at his side in a distressing voyage, may have told her, that if any accident should happen to their ship, those dolphins which they saw swiftly sporting round them, and whose plaintive voice they had often heard, would compassionate their condition, and soon carry them to a happy shore. The poets, after this, made use of the same fiction to save their heroes from the greatest perils at sea.’—(p. 6.)

From these, and similar day-dreams, he is roused by the discovery of two strange sail in the N. W. a discovery admirably calculated to dispel the most determined *schwärmerey*. They prove to be French privateers, and after a short action, the Jason is obliged to strike her colours. This event naturally gives rise to a very strong, and at the same time, very luminous philippic against privateering; and our author expresses a confident hope, that this depredatory kind of warfare will very shortly be abolished. The system of privateering has not inaptly been compared to that of irregulars and light troops, in continental warfare. The same arguments that hold good against the one, will be found equally applicable to the other. In a moral point of view, the ordinary proceedings of neither can be strictly justified; but we strongly recommend the Baron to restrain his acrimony upon the subject, lest an unfortunate application of his arguments may lead to a future residence in the Castle of Spandau. The Prussian cabinet has ever acted upon a principle of pillage: the great *Fritz* himself was little better than an overgrown pirate. The Baron, therefore, stands upon very ticklish ground in the propagation of these philanthropic principles, which bear as hard upon the government which can countenance rapine and plunder by land, as upon that which can countenance similar violence at sea.

Being the subject of a neutral power, our author is civilly treated by the captain of the privateer, and he is assured, that nothing belonging to him will be touched. The disappearance of a considerable portion of his baggage gives the lie to these friendly protestations; but still, such is his confidence in the generosity of the captors, a long time elapses before he can be persuaded of the reality of his loss. At length, when he is fatally convinced of his misfortune, he bears it like a philosopher, consoling himself with the reflection ‘ that he may put down the loss in his account-book under the head of unexpected expences, for which travellers should be particularly prepared.’—(p. 27.)

It had originally been the intention of the French captain to proceed with his prize to Guadeloupe, but the wind veering about, he finds himself under the necessity of steering for Martinique, where he

he anchors in the Bay of St. Pierre, on the 1st of March. Our author is very much struck with the beautiful appearance of this island, and delighted with the civility and pleasing manners of the inhabitants. He finds nothing to censure in this favoured spot, except an unaccountable apathy on the part of the natives with respect to the encreasing number of venomous snakes. The introduction of these reptiles into the islands of Martinique and St. Lucie, is accounted for in the following ingenious manner:

'The original natives of these two islands used to attack the Indians of the coast of South America, and plunder their habitations: the people of the continent, by way of retaliation, caught many venomous snakes in baskets, and carried them over to the islands, where they turned them loose, not only as an act of revenge upon the living, but to continue as a plague to posterity; an idea truly savage.'—(p. 25.)

Such a plague was by no means likely to escape the philanthropy of the Baron, and we accordingly find him suggesting various plans for the extirpation of these reptiles. Many schemes are started, such as, fixing a price upon their heads, the introduction of the Egyptian ichneumon, or the more summary mode of eating them in broth. The merits of each plan are very gravely and fully discussed; and as Mr. de Sack informs us, that he has sent copies of his work to the West Indies, we have little doubt but that the serpent race will, ere long, have ample occasion to rue this accidental visit, and the epicures of Martinique good reason to be grateful for a suggestion, which offers so savoury and valuable an addition to their culinary resources.

A serious misfortune, however, befalls the Baron two days after his arrival at Martinique; he is attacked by a violent acrimonious humour in his stomach. (p. 26.) His friends and his landlady are greatly alarmed, and recommend astringent cordials; the Baron prefers castor oil, and the result justifies the preference. In two days he is as well as when he first landed. This transient indisposition does not prevent his departure for St. Lucie on the 8th of March, from whence he sails again on the 11th for Barbadoes. His short stay in these two islands offers little worthy of notice: he speedily re-embarks, and without further interruption arrives in the river of Surinam on the 21st of April.

Our author is no sooner settled in the town of Paramaribo, than he addresses a letter to a female friend, descriptive of the scenery around him:

'Here are no romantic mountains, nor shaded grottos, nor pleasing cascades; not even a gently rising hill is to be seen. All around Paramaribo, the whole country is an uniform plain; yet its landscapes have a particularly rich appearance from the luxuriant growth of so many different species of vegetables, which, though they charm the  
spectator,

spectator; must lose their most striking effect in description. I hope, therefore, you will agree in thinking this country possesses interesting prospects, though I should fail in my endeavour to represent them to you in language adequate to their merits.'—(p. 44.)

This little effusion of modesty is followed by an animated description of his lodgings at a widow's in Tamarind-street; two rooms and a cabinet (*cabinet de travail*, we presume,) on the ground-floor, and a bed-chamber above. Every thing that he sees from his windows delights him: poultry yards, canals, fishing boats, Indians, sea-cows, all furnish food for reflection and admiration.—'In this situation,' says the Baron, 'I can enjoy the society of the town, and still more that of rural life, which is so beneficial to my health.' With the rising sun he is awakened by the delightful melody of the Goda Bird, which perches on his window-shutter, and chaunts its sweet notes without fear of molestation. Such are his enjoyments at home. After the great heats of the day are over, he strolls into a beautiful Savannah, which leads into a wilderness, the commencement of that interminable forest, which spreads over the uninhabited part of Guiana:

'Of the many alleys, that are formed here, one, which I frequent the most, winds along a serpentine river, where a number of beautiful butterflies are often hovering over the flowing mirror, and seem to delight in the reflected splendour of their glittering wings; but a still more brilliant *spark* darts from the blossom of a tree; this is a humming bird.'—(p. 47.)

In this romantic spot, surrounded by these sparks, himself the most brilliant amongst them,

———velut inter ignes  
Luna minores——

the Baron rears a humble seat of turf under the shade of a lofty cotton-tree. Here he passes many delightful hours ruminating on past pleasures, and thinking, perhaps, of other sparks upon the banks of the Spree or Oder. One day he finds a string of beads, and a broken cane, near this favourite spot:

'What a pleasure,' exclaims he, 'to find so delightful a spot is not entirely neglected by our fellow creatures!—perhaps, some aged negroe rested here with his heavy load!—perhaps, a negress, suckling her new-born babe, and enjoying, in this solemn retreat, undisturbed, the tender feelings of a mother!'—(p. 48.)

Spirit of the immortal Kotzebue, how interesting a picture! What volumes of smoke from the *meer-schaum* pipe must have accompanied the inditing of this sentence!

Leaving the Baron's reflections and descriptions to those, who take greater delight than we do in such gentle exhibitions of Ger-

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man pathos, we proceed to the consideration of those parts of his journal, from whence any information can be extracted with respect to the present state of the colony of Surinam. A two years residence, and an intimacy with the principal inhabitants must have given him many opportunities of obtaining useful and interesting information; but we are sorry to say, that he appears to have profited but little by the opportunities afforded him, for it has seldom fallen to our lot to notice a quarto volume, containing a more meagre detail of real information, or built upon such slender foundations, as this before us.

Mr. de Sack supposes the population of the town of Paramaribo to amount to 20,000 souls. He classes them as follows:—1800 Europeans; 3000 Jews; 4000 free negroes and people of colour; and 11,000 slaves. It is evident, however, that this loose calculation is very little to be depended upon, as the difficulty of ascertaining the exact number of slaves is almost insurmountable. (p. 41.) Our author is much indebted to Stedman, in the slight sketch which he gives of the progress of cultivation, and the gradual increase of the commerce of the colony from the period when it was first ceded to the Dutch. It is, however, by no means ill done, and will probably be read with greater interest than any other part of his work. We have reason to believe, that he is perfectly correct in his opinion, that the prosperity of Surinam is now rapidly on the decline. The formidable neighbourhood, and the increasing numbers of the bush negroes, a bad system of cultivation, and the non-residence of the principal planters, are the causes to which this decline is attributed; but admitting these to be the chief causes, we believe that the frequent change of masters, and the uncertain fate of the colony hereafter, have not a little contributed, in later days, to accelerate the ruin of its commerce.

Mr. de Sack is of opinion, that the first shock given to the prosperity of the settlement, arose from the establishment of Dutch counting houses, where persons, who wished to cultivate new land, could easily obtain a temporary advance of money. This encouraged too great a speculation. Many were ruined by engaging in projects beyond their means; whilst others were forced, by the importunity of their creditors, to abandon their speculations at the very time that they had every reasonable prospect of ultimate success. The consequences were, the abandonment of much land already brought into cultivation, a general distrust in all matters of credit, and an almost universal stagnation of trade. But the greatest danger, to which the colony has been exposed, was the revolt of the negroes, who destroyed a great number of the finest plantations, and murdered every white inhabitant that fell into their hands. The evils attendant upon this unfortunate event, were by no means removed  
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by the peace, which was ultimately concluded. It was apprehended that the tranquillity would be but of short duration; and the most active and wealthy planters, naturally supposing that they should be the first victims in the event of a renewal of hostilities, lost no time in removing from a country, where the advantages of commerce offered but a very inadequate remuneration for the perils to which its votaries were constantly exposed.

The present numbers of the Bush or Aucka negroes are very differently stated. In fact, it is impossible to make an exact calculation, as they frequently separate into distinct divisions, and form new villages in different parts of the forest. But whatever may be their numbers, they are certainly the most dangerous enemies of the colony; and should they ever make common cause with the plantation negroes, the most disastrous consequences would inevitably ensue. The origin of these people is to be traced to the year 1674, when the Dutch obtained possession of Surinam. Whilst the English planters were preparing to leave their estates, a party of the negroes took the opportunity of deserting into the woods, and these fugitives were afterwards joined by other runaways. When the French attacked Surinam, in 1712, the Dutch governor recommended the planters to send their slaves into the interior, as a precautionary measure. This was accordingly done; but when the danger was over, the negroes very naturally refused to return to their respective plantations, preferring a life of liberty with their countrymen in the forests. From that period, they became a most formidable body, and very shortly engaged in open hostility with the colony. In 1761, a peace was concluded with a large party of these negroes living in the vicinity of the river of Surinam; but their animosity does not appear to have been removed by the concessions made to them in this treaty. Animated by their example, a most formidable revolt broke out amongst the negroes on the Cottica River, in 1772, which spread devastation over the most fertile parts of the settlement. We may refer those of our readers, who wish for a more particular account of this unfortunate rebellion, to Captain Stedman's Narrative of the campaign.

There certainly can be but one opinion as to the policy of endeavouring to remove such dangerous neighbours, either by force or address; yet we are really at a loss to conceive by what means so desirable an object is to be effected. The Baron's plan of transporting them to Sierra Leone appears, from the nature of things, to be totally impracticable. His other scheme of encouraging the establishment of an intermediate colony of native Indians, as a barrier to any future incursions, although wearing a more plausible appearance, would, we believe, prove nearly as difficult

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in accomplishment. At all events, but little can be done at present. Whenever a general peace shall have decided the fate of this colony, it will then indeed become an object of the greatest importance to those who remain its masters, to adopt some vigorous and decisive line of policy in order to avert the dangers which are rapidly increasing, and which have been the result of half measures and temporary expedients.

During our author's residence at Surinam, he makes two excursions into the interior of the country. The first up the river Commeywine; the second up the river Surinam, as far as the plantation of Bluebergh. He is infinitely more struck with the wonderful fertility of the soil, than with the ingenuity or art of the cultivators. What are we to think of a set of people, to whom, in the 19th century, the use of the plough is unknown, in a soil, too, so admirably adapted to the operation of that most simple instrument of husbandry?

'The great labour of the negroes lies chiefly in tilling the land, which is here performed by *hooks*, while in several parts of the West Indies, they have begun to make use of the plough; and this method has been found very profitable. There can be no better land for ploughing than at Surinam, since the ground is quite level, and without stones to impede the share.'—p. 101.

The banks of the Commeywine, although brought into cultivation at a later period than those of the Surinam, are more healthy, and the plantations in a more flourishing state. The plantations on the banks of the Cottica (the most fertile and healthy spot of all) were entirely destroyed by the revolted negroes, in the year 1773. Since that time, this tract of country has become a favourite resort of the Bush Negroes, who have been induced to settle there, principally on account of the vicinity of the river Arawina, which divides the colony from Cayenne. These lawless plunderers know how to appreciate the advantages of a secure and speedy retreat, in the event of a pursuit from their enemies.

Cotton, sugar, coffee, indigo, and cocoa are the principal articles of exportation from Surinam. M. de Sack enters into some detail of the different modes of cultivating these articles, and describes, with great accuracy, the different appearance presented by the respective plantations to the eye of the traveller. This part of his work may not be unacceptable to such of his readers as are unacquainted with the scenery of a tropical climate.

We have already hinted, that hostility to the late measures, adopted by the legislature with respect to the abolition of the slave trade, forms a distinguished feature of the work before us. One letter is dedicated entirely to this subject; but the whole book may be considered as a systematic, though cautious defence of this detestable

testable commerce. M. de Sack went to Surinam prejudiced, as he is pleased to term it, in favour of the abolition, and he informs us that the change in his opinions was the result of accurate investigation and personal observation. He tells us, that the slaves are comparatively happy and contented, and that their lot is infinitely more fortunate than that of their countrymen who have been emancipated, and who are distinguished by the appellation of free negroes. We shall not dispute this point, in form, but simply ask M. de Sack, why the slaves are so desirous of emancipation? The situation of a poor negro, turned adrift in a foreign country without the means of subsistence, is certainly little to be envied; but if it be so much more miserable than the life of the slave, what prevents him from returning to his former bondage?—What prevents him from disposing of his liberty to the highest bidder?—Now, though we believe, that the horrors related by Stedman no longer exist,—indeed, notwithstanding his delectable drawings, we are very much inclined to doubt whether they ever did exist to the extent affirmed by him,—yet enough escapes, even from the Baron himself, to prove that the situation of these devoted people is wretched and miserable in the extreme.

‘All things considered, I confess that the result of my observations has greatly diminished the prejudice which I brought with me from Europe with respect to the situation of the negroes in the colonies. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that the fate of the negro depends entirely on the temper and disposition of the master: for while I have found the negroes happy on some plantations, I have at times, in my rural walks, seen, and heard still more of the severe correction of others.’—p. 109.

Different effects are often produced by the same causes upon different minds; but unless we had Mr. de Sack's own word for it, we should certainly have conceived it impossible, that a man could be a witness to scenes of the nature here described, and yet acknowledge that his *prejudices* upon the subject were diminished.—What! and in your rural walks too, Baron, and when reclined upon the turf-seat under the cotton tree? Not a thought but for butterflies and humming-birds, though your ears were still ringing with the shrieks of suffering humanity? Such *transcendental* philosophy!—

But the baron tells us that he is pleading the cause of humanity:

‘The women in the colonies are not put to those heavy employments, which are imposed upon them by the male tyrants of Africa, and other uncivilized countries. In this respect, therefore, the condition of the female negroes is rendered happier by their removal to the colonies.’—(p. 141.)

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This is decisive with respect to the ladies—now for the gentlemen :

‘ Now, if in reality these cruel usages actually prevail amongst the African Negroes, it will be found so far from being wrong, that it becomes meritorious to save those victims from their sanguinary conquerors, and bring them to a state of servitude in a civilized country.’—(p. 145.)

The total abolition of the slave trade is of course, most decidedly disapproved of by our author. The negro children born upon the plantations are not sufficient to keep up the necessary supply of labourers ; therefore, if no new supply be afforded, the ruin of the colonies must ensue. ‘ The wealth of Surinam,’ says he, ‘ will not only vanish, but what is worse, the land will relapse into that state of wilderness and swamp, which originally, by exhaling the most pestilential vapours, proved so destructive to the first settlers.’—(p. 144.)

It would be tedious and unnecessary to carry our readers through the whole chain of the Baron's arguments upon this subject ; arguments, which possess no novelty, and which have already been refuted as often as advanced. We shall merely add, that he concludes by strongly urging the necessity of a renewal of the slave-trade, under the immediate authority of the government. He is so good as to give us a detailed plan for an establishment of this nature. He enumerates the rare qualities which it will be necessary for the principal overseer or governor to possess ; and designates with great accuracy the particular class of negroes which it would be most prudent and profitable to purchase. We must refer such of our readers as are desirous of farther information upon this subject, to the 15th letter, entitled ‘ On the Abolition of the Slave Trade.’

We every where find our author roundly asserting, that the climate of Surinam is not more unhealthy, than that of other tropical countries ; but the facts which he has adduced in support of this opinion, are so much at variance with his conclusions, that we do not feel disposed to place any great reliance upon these assertions. A perusal of his 13th letter will justify our scepticism upon this subject. He there tells us, that the young, the healthy and the strong, are the most likely to fall victims to the climate ; that the slightest deviation from prudence, either with respect to clothing or diet, is attended with considerable risk ; yet he concludes by declaring, that the climate is by no means unfavourable to longevity ; that it is, indeed, peculiarly favourable to the ladies, ‘ who frequently enter into third and fourth marriages.’ (p. 133.) This may be an argument highly satisfactory to the ladies, but we apprehend that their husbands will view it in a very different light.

The Baron informs us, in the early part of his work, that a considerable

siderable number of German husbandmen were brought to the colony some years back, encouraged by an unconditional grant of land. No sooner, however, had these unfortunate people taken possession of their grant and begun to labour, than they all fell victims to the climate. 'It is observed,' says M. de Sack, 'by the bills of mortality, that of the Europeans established in these climates, the Spaniards live the longest, the French next to them, but the English the shortest of all.' He also observes as a peculiarity in the climate of Surinam, that it tends to promote excessive irritability. (p. 131.) It is to be hoped, that this effect is counteracted by a subsequent residence in a colder latitude; if not, we should recommend to the Baron a course of cooling medicines before he ventures upon a perusal of these cursory remarks.

We shall conclude with M. de Sack's account of the daily employment of a planter's life:

'He rises at six o'clock, and to enjoy the pleasantness of the morning, takes his breakfast under his piazza, at which he is attended by a number of female negroes, and a boy, who presents him with a segar-pipe; during this time he orders the domestic concerns for the day; then putting on a light dress, he takes a walk by the side of the river to see if there are any new vessels arrived, and to converse with their captains. About eight he returns home, and till ten employs himself in business, then takes a second breakfast, which consists of more solid articles than the first, and would be considered in Europe as a tolerably good dinner. After this, he occasionally returns to business until two o'clock, when he goes to a club, of which there are two principal ones. Here he learns the news of the day, takes some refreshment or cordials, and returns home at three to dinner, which is often in the society of his friends. Some have the same custom here, as prevails in the south of Europe, of indulging themselves with a nap in the afternoon, but others prefer a walk. About six, after taking his tea, if he is not engaged in any other company, he again visits the club. About ten he returns home to his supper and then to rest.' (p. 111.)

With such people M. de Sack passes the principal part of his time during his residence at Surinam, and is delighted with his company and situation. We must honestly confess, that neither the society, nor the climate possesses any attractions for us. Even the vaunted delicacies of their kitchen, have something in them extremely repugnant to our ideas of good cheer: we are afraid that we should make wry faces at lizard pyes and parrot broth; but the fat caterpillar, 'more delicious than the most delicate marrow' (p. 96) would absolutely drive us from the table.

On the 7th of June 1807, our author sails for the United States in the *Vesta*, an American brig, commanded by Captain Petty. On the 3d of July he comes to an anchor in the bay of

Naragansett,



Nazagansett, opposite the town of Providence. It will be unnecessary for us to accompany him in his rapid flight through many of the principal towns in the United States, as it would contribute neither to the information nor amusement of our readers. Previously to his departure, he winds up his account of America, with a description of the character and manners of its inhabitants. His delineation, generally speaking, is neither remarkable for its perspicuity nor for its accuracy; but for the truth of the following remark, we can most readily and conscientiously vouch:

'The great inclination which the people of this country have for disputing on political matters is sometimes very unpleasant: in stage-coaches, or at the table of the hotel, I have always declined entering into those discourses, but in private company it is not always possible to avoid it. They are not content with praising their own constitution, but they attack the principles of other governments, of which they have often very little information; and they are even much displeased with those who wish to change the conversation to other subjects, and they will declare it unnecessary to observe so much reserve of opinion in this land of liberty.'—p. 214.

This disputatious disposition is accompanied by so much bigotry of opinion, and so much coarseness of manner, that it requires a no common share of philosophy to remain unruffled by its attacks. Its effect upon a mind suffering from the *irritable* climate of Surinam, must have been truly distressing.

M. de Sack's voyage to Europe is remarkable for nothing but a most poetical description of a storm, which, when published in its original German, will no doubt be long considered as a proper model for imitation by every manufacturer of horrors in Jena, Göttingen and Leipsic.

'Some heavy clouds appeared in the north-west, which gradually increased, and spreading over the horizon, involved the rays of the sun, which now appeared through the mist as an enormous red glowing fire ball: the mournful tune of the tempest was heard in the rigging: the ocean changed its colour (from its usual lapis lazuli colour) to a dead marble grey; the waves were rising in different forms as so many sepulchres, and the strength with which they dashed against the vessel made them appear like solid rocks: by the increase of the hurricane they assumed the shape of mountains, on which the foam appeared like the snowy tops of the Alps: the ship was shaken in all her parts, (well she might!) and by the combat of the two powerful elements, our neutral habitation was almost dashed to pieces!'—p. 219.

The danger to which our Chamberlain's '*neutral habitation*' was exposed, naturally suggests the idea that a single plank only divides him from '*the dead marble grey*.' This as naturally recalls to his recollection Sir G. Staunton's account of certain 'Chinese vessels, whose holds, divided into twelve different partitions, are all made water-tight, so that if any accident happen to the vessel, the

water can only penetrate into one part of the ship.' This appears to our author to be a most admirable contrivance, and he proposes that packets should be built upon the same construction, which, although they might not sail so fast as the others, would amply repay this inconvenience by the superior security afforded to the crew and cargo. Six divisions, he thinks, would be enough to begin with, and we really think so too. The Baron is not very clear in his description, but we understand him to mean, that there should be six ships, one within another, like a *nest of boxes*, and that the outside ships should be stripped off as occasion required, like the grave-digger's coats in *Hamlet*. If this be his meaning, we think he has rather mistaken the passage to which he alludes; but that is a matter of little moment: his scheme will possess a greater degree of originality, and procure him a greater degree of reputation—in Germany.

We presume, from the attachment manifested by M. de Sack towards a tropical climate, that at some future period he may again be tempted to visit a country so favoured by nature, and which has now acquired so much celebrity from his animated descriptions. In that case, we venture to express a hope, that we shall hear from him again. We feel interested in every scheme, which he has proposed, from the establishment of a commerce in slaves founded upon principles of humanity, to his last luminous suggestions upon the subject of ship-building. We now take our leave of him, grateful for all the information which he appears to have been desirous of affording, and for all the entertainment which he really has afforded us.

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ART. XIII. *Correspondance inédite de Madame Du Deffand, avec D'Alembert, Montesquieu, Le Président Henault, La Duchesse Du Maine; Mesdames De Choiseul, De Staal; Le Marquis D'Argens, Le Chevalier D'Aydie, etc.* 3 vols. 12mo. Colburn. 1810.

*Letters of the Marquise Du Deffand to the Hon. Horace Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford, from the Year 1766 to the Year 1780. To which are added Letters of Madame Du Deffand to Voltaire, from the Year 1759 to the Year 1775. Published from the Originals at Strawberry-Hill.* 4 vols. 12mo. Longman. 1810.

THE first of these publications has been for some time before the world; but as it was composed chiefly of the letters of Madame du Deffand's friends, it served to excite rather than to gratify curiosity respecting her own. The second publication, which

which has more recently appeared, supplies the omissions of the former. It consists almost entirely of the letters of Madame du Deffand herself, and will therefore be the principal subject of reference in the course of our remarks. We do not hesitate to call this collection an interesting one;—interesting however, not, because it admits us, like the correspondence of Madame de Sevigné or Mademoiselle d'Aissé, into the recesses of a susceptible heart; but, because it introduces us to a brilliant circle of acquaintance; and discloses, in some measure, the interior of a very peculiar character.

The name and history of Madame du Deffand are probably well known to most of our readers; but for the sake of those who may not immediately recollect the particulars of her life, it may be proper briefly to mention, that she was born of a noble family in the province of Burgundy; that she early attracted notice by her gallantries no less than by her beauty and talents; that she was married to the Marquis du Deffand, from whom she separated 'on finding him a weak character and a tiresome companion;' that she formed for many years the center of the most brilliant and scientific society in Europe; and that after a life distinguished for every thing but virtue, she died at the age of eighty-three in the year 1780.

To develop the character of such a woman by the lights which she has herself supplied in her familiar writings, would be a task both curious and useful. It is a task however which we disclaim the idea of attempting:—our intention is only to bring into one view some desultory observations which have arisen during the perusal of these volumes.

This lady seems to have united the lightness of the French character with the solidity of the English. She was easy and volatile, yet judicious and acute; sometimes profound and sometimes superficial. She had a wit playful, abundant, and well-toned; an admirable conception of the ridiculous, and great skill in exposing it; a turn for satire which she indulged, not always in the best natured manner, yet with irresistible effect; powers of expression varied, appropriate, flowing from the source, and curious without research; a refined taste for letters, and a judgment both of men and books, in a high degree, enlightened, and accurate. As her parts had been happily thrown together by nature, they were no less happy in the circumstances which attended their progress and developement. They were ripened, not by a course of solitary study, but by desultory reading and by chiefly living intercourse with the brightest geniuses of her age. Thus trained, they acquired a pliability of movement, which gave to all their exertions a bewitching air of freedom and negligence; and made even their best efforts seem only the exuberances or flowerings-off of a mind

mind capable of higher excellencies, but unambitious to attain them. There was nothing to alarm or to overpower. On whatever topic she touched, trivial or severe, it was alike, *en badinant*; but in the midst of this sportiveness, her genius poured itself forth in a thousand delightful fancies, and scattered new graces and ornaments on every object within its sphere. In its wanderings from the trifles of the day to grave questions of morals or philosophy, it carelessly struck out, and as carelessly abandoned the most profound truths; and while it aimed only to amuse, suddenly astonished and electrified by rapid traits of illumination, which opened the depths of difficult subjects, and roused the researches of more systematic reasoners. To these qualifications were added an independence in forming opinions and a boldness in avowing them which wore at least the semblance of honesty; a perfect knowledge of the world, and that facility of manners which in the commerce of society supplies the place of benevolence.

Such was this extraordinary woman on the side of talents; but we are sorry to add that on the side of the better and more endearing parts of our nature, the affections and the virtues, she appears in a less favourable light. This assemblage of captivating qualities covered a heart equally unprincipled and insensible. Her feelings were, probably, always superficial; but in truth, no feelings, whatever might be their temper, could have long resisted the habitual depravity of her principles. As she was a sceptic from her childhood, and enured to the excesses of an age and a court memorable in the annals of dissoluteness, it is not surprising that in renouncing the virtues of her sex, she renounced also its sensibilities. Jealous and vindictive; severe in her judgments; incapable of real attachment, but the slave of caprice; sudden in fondness as in resentment, and as inexorable in the latter as in the former she was volatile; envious and malignant; incredulous of virtue because she could not appreciate it, she contracted at length a selfishness so inveterate that it might be termed the essence of her character; a selfishness in which were joined the obstinacy of a principle and the ardour of a passion. She was the victim of prejudices which often clouded her judgment, and disturbed even her *tact* in the estimation of character. Her wit seldom played without wounding; and we cannot but think that her frankness itself was owing at least as much to a coarseness and presumption of mind as to a simple love of candour. She was obviously beyond the reach of the restraints which diffidence, or respect for received notions, or consideration for the feelings of others, impose on the overflowings of common minds. We observe accordingly that where it was her wish to conciliate, she could condescend to sacrifice her zeal for truth. Inflexible as it was to the suggestions of delicacy or tenderness, it invariably yielded to those of vanity.

During

During the first part of her life, while her self-love was flattered by incessant homage, the defects to which we have alluded, attracted less notice and claimed perhaps some indulgence; but, as time advanced, they became more obtrusive and less pardonable. The habits of her youth had ill prepared her for an age unusually lengthened, and attended with more than common sorrows. Disease and infirmity, by confining her body, abridged in some measure the range of her mind; her distresses were aggravated by blindness, and every day, while it took away some outward gratification, envenomed the gnawings of secret chagrin. At length that restless and undisciplined spirit, continually driven within narrower bounds, preyed upon its own strength, and abandoning itself to a querulous impatience, gave the last shade to its sufferings by making them less affecting and less respectable. There was obviously but one resource for such a mind so situated—it was that of attaching itself to some object which might fill up its faculties, and thus divert it from brooding over its own misery. Madame du Deffand perceived this necessity, and determined to resign herself to such an attachment. But now it was that those sensibilities which she had so early insulted, were avenged. The heart, which had been long closed to the profound feelings, now refused to be softened. She found herself, after repeated experiments, incapable of a sentiment so deep and exclusive as that of which she yet felt the perpetual and pressing want. Her first experiment seems to have been to establish under her roof some humble relative as a companion, whose attentions she might always command, and in whose society she might find a constant relief from *ennui*. This plan not answering, she tried the effects of friendship; and, as a last resource, endeavoured to take shelter in devotion. After being successively baffled in these efforts, she quietly resigned the pursuit of any permanent distraction from her misery. She resolved to enjoy what was yet attainable, to mix in the circles of pleasure, and to shut her eyes on the future, which had been too little regarded to be welcome, but was now too near, not to be sometimes obtrusive. Thus in a state of alternate wretchedness and mirth, or rather of anguish, sometimes ‘sicklied o’er with the pale cast’ of gaiety, tormented by a disquietude which vainly struggled to become despair; shrinking from the hope of annihilation which she professed to indulge; and disavowing a futurity which she could not disbelieve, did this miserable woman pass the closing years of a long life; and thus at length did she sink into a grave which was hallowed by no sacred remembrance, nor washed by any tears but those of pity.

If any of our readers should be disposed to quarrel with the justice of the character which we have here represented, let them suspend their judgment till they have considered how far we are

supported by the letters before us. A few, and comparatively but a few extracts shall be produced, which, we think, will convey a tolerable impression both of the good and of the bad qualities of Madame du Deffand.

Nothing can be more agreeably written than these letters. There is an air of freedom and good breeding about them, which sets off the felicity of their diction, and the charms of wit with which they sparkle. The style of their composition is light and elastic, and, excepting when sombre topics are expressly treated of, enlivened by a tone of gaiety.

We shall begin our quotations with an account of the Chevalier de Listenai, in the letters to Mr. Walpole. We cannot recollect to have met in any place a more admirable delineation of a class of our fellow-creatures whom it is not uncommon to encounter.

‘Ce chevalier de Listenai dont je vous ai parlé, est positivement celui avec lequel vous avez soupé; il est parti aujourd’hui pour Chanteloup. Je le trouve un bon homme, doux, facile, complaisant; en fait d’esprit il a à peu près le nécessaire, sans sel, sans sève, sans chaleur, un certain son de voix ennuyeux; quand il ouvre la bouche, on croit qu’il bâille, et qu’il va faire bâiller; on est agréablement surpris que ce qu’il dit n’en est ni sot, ni long, ni bête, et vu le temps qui court, on conclut qu’il est assez aimable.’—*Letters*, vol. i. pp. 232—233.

The following passage will convey no mean idea of candour and independance of judgment, united with great discrimination and taste. To those who have been familiarised with the records of the *grand siècle*, it may not be displeasing to review their early impressions under the guidance of an eminent observer of human nature; and to remark with how true a hand the balance is struck between two distinguished personages, the one the most interesting, the other the most surprising woman of that age of wonder and interest. In the sentence which is here passed upon Petrarch, we confess that we feel more reluctance to acquiesce. We cannot so easily forget

‘La dolce vista, e’l bel guardo soave,’  
which charmed us on the threshold of modern literature; nor can we consent to renounce the muse, of whom it may be said, in her own strains—

‘Con leggiadro dolor par ch’ella spiri  
Alta pietà che gentil core stringe;  
Oltra la vista a gli orecchi orna, e’nfringe  
Sue voci vive, e suoi santi sospiri.’

Still however, if it were allowed to insert a saving clause in favour of the real tenderness and purity of sentiment which breathe in the writings of Petrarch, we do not know that it would be possible to give in such few strokes a more accurate sketch of the Italian school of love.



‘ Je n’ai point mal dormi cette nuit, et ce matin j’ai lu une trentaine de lettres de Mad. de Maintenon ; ce recueil est curieux, il contient neuf années, depuis 1706 jusqu’à 1715. Je persiste à trouver que cette femme n’étoit point fausse ; mais elle étoit sèche, austère, insensible, sans passion ; elle raconte tous les événemens de ce temps-là qui étoient affreux pour la France, et pour l’Espagne, comme si elle n’y avoit pas un intérêt particulier : elle a plus l’air de l’ennui que de l’intérêt ; ses lettres sont réfléchies, il y a beaucoup d’esprit, d’un style fort simple ; mais elles ne sont point animées, et il s’en faut bien qu’elles soient aussi agréables que celles de Mad. de Sévigné. Tout est passion, tout est en action dans celles de cette dernière, elle prend part à tout, tout l’affecte, tout l’intéresse ; Mad. de Maintenon tout au contraire, raconte les plus grands événemens, où elle jouoit un rôle avec le plus parfait sangfroid ; on voit qu’elle n’aimoit ni le Roi, ni ses amis, ni ses parens, ni même sa place : sans sentiment, sans imagination, elle ne se fait point d’illusions, elle connoît la valeur intrinsèque de toutes choses, elle s’ennuie de la vie et elle dit, *il n’y a que la mort qui termine nettement les chagrins et les malheurs*. Un autre trait d’elle qui m’a fait plaisir ; *il y a dans la droiture autant d’habileté que de vertu*. Il me reste de cette lecture beaucoup d’opinion de son esprit, peu d’estime de son cœur, et nul goût pour sa personne, mais je le dis, je persiste à ne la pas croire fausse. Autant que je puis vous connoître je crois que ces lettres vous feroient plaisir ; cependant je n’en sais rien, car depuis feu Protée personne n’a été si dissemblable d’un jour à l’autre que vous l’êtes.

‘ Vous avez actuellement votre Pétrarque,\* je ne comprends pas qu’on puisse faire un aussi gros volume à son occasion. Le fade auteur ! que sa Laure étoit sotte et précieuse ! que la cour d’amour étoit fastidieuse ! que tout cela étoit recherché, agrimaché, maniérée, et tout cela vous plaît ! Convenez que vous savez bien allier les contraires.—*Letters*, vol. i. pp. 213—215.

Of the literary sentiments of Madame du Deffand these volumes supply abundant records ; but our limits allow the production of only a few examples ; and these, taken as they are at random from her writings, display much strength and originality of thought, and what is more remarkable, much simplicity of taste.

‘ Vous voulez donc les Fabliaux, vous les aurez. Une des plus grandes différences qu’il y ait entre nous deux, c’est notre goût pour le genre de lecture. J’examinais l’autre jour ce que je trouvois de plus parfait de tout ce qui avoit été écrit, non pas dans chaque genre, mais de ce que je choisirois avoir fait, y compris tous les genres quelconques. Vous croirez peut-être que ce seroit les découvertes de Newton : oh, non, la chanson de M. de St. Aulaire me paroît trop bonne. Les livres de morale ne sont bons à rien, il n’y a que celle qu’on fait soi-même. L’histoire est nécessaire, mais ennuyeuse ; la poésie exige le talent, l’esprit seul ne suffit pas ; mais c’est pourtant dans ce genre que je choisirois l’ouvrage que je voudrois avoir fait, s’il avoit fallu n’en faire

\* La Vie de Pétrarque, par l’Abbé de Sade.

qu'un seul, parce qu'il me paroît à tous égards avoir atteint la perfection. Vous ne le devinez pas, et vous ne penserez peut-être pas de même, c'est *Athalie*. Mes insomnies qui sont, comme vous savez, longues et fréquentes, me font repasser tout ce que je sais par cœur; *Eathier*, *Athalie*, sept ou huit cents vers de Voltaire, et quelques autres brimborions de différens auteurs, voilà malheureusement à quoi est bornée toute mon érudition; et cette pièce d'*Athalie* me charme et m'enlève, et ne laisse rien à désirer, ni à reprendre. — *Letters*, vol. iv. pp. 2—3.

Though it cannot be said that the character of Madame du Deffand was, in every respect, unsophisticated, yet she always retained a strong relish for the natural, both in manners and in composition; a relish which she had probably acquired in the better days of French literature, before the *prettyisms* of Thomas and Boissinot, or the sterile rhetoric of D'Alembert had supplanted the masculine beauties of Boileau, Racine, and Bossuet. Her passion for honesty is, indeed, often pushed to extravagance; and sometimes obtruded upon us with such a studied display, as even to excite a suspicion of its sincerity. We are persuaded, however, that it was genuine; and that she does not flatter herself when she says, 'Je hais toute insinuation, toute recherche, toute affectation.'

The bad taste which was so rapidly spreading over France during the latter half of the last century, she observed with infinite disgust and indignation.

'Il n'y a plus de gaieté, Monsieur, (she remarks to Voltaire,) il n'y a plus de grâces, les sots sont plats et froids, ils ne sont point absurdes ni extravagans comme ils étoient autrefois; les gens d'esprit sont pédans, corrects, sententieux; il n'y a plus de goût non plus; enfin il n'y a rien, les têtes sont vides, et l'on veut que les bourses le deviennent aussi. Oh! que vous êtes heureux d'être Voltaire; vous avez tous les bonheurs, les talens qui font l'occupation et la réputation, les richesses, qui font l'indépendance.' — *Letters*, vol. iv. p. 32.

'Ah! M. de Voltaire, il me prend un désir auquel je ne puis résister; c'est de vous demander, à mains jointes, de faire un éloge, un discours (comme vous voudrez l'appeler dans la tournure que vous voudrez lui donner) sur notre Molière. L'on me lut hier l'écrit qui a remporté le prix à l'Académie; on l'approuve, on le loue fort injustement à mon avis. Je n'entends rien à la critique raisonnée, ainsi je n'entrerai point en détail sur ce qui m'a choquée et déplu; je vous dirai seulement, que le style académique m'est en horreur, que je trouve absurdes toutes les dissertations, tous les préceptes, que nous donnent nos beaux esprits d'aujourd'hui sur le goût et sur les talens, comme si l'on pouvoit suppléer au génie. Je prêcherai votre tolérance, je vous le promets; je m'y engage, si vous m'accordez d'être intolérant sur le faux goût, et sur le faux bel esprit, qui établit aujourd'hui sa tyrannie; donnez un moment de relâche à votre zèle sur l'objet où vous avez eu tant de succès, et arrêtez le progrès de l'erreur dans l'objet qui m'intéresse bien d'avantage.' — *Letters*, vol. iv. pp. 280—281.

She

She says to Mr. Walpole,

‘Comment va le goût en Angleterre? pour ici il est entièrement perdu; et grâces à nos philosophes qui raisonnent sur tout, nous n'avons plus le sens commun; et s'il n'y avoit pas les ouvrages du siècle de Louis XIV, plusieurs de ceux de votre pays, et les traductions des anciens, il faudroit renoncer à la lecture.’ *Letters*, vol. i. p. 25.

It was the same spirit of sound criticism which dictated her account of Gibbon. The sketch of the author, as well as of his works, is struck off in a very spirited and masterly style.

‘Je vous dis à l'oreille que je ne suis point contente de l'ouvrage de M. Gibbon, il est déclamatoire, oratoire; c'est le ton de nos beaux esprits, et il me paroît qu'il se trompe souvent aux jugemens qu'il en porte; dans la conversation il veut briller et prendre le ton qu'il croit le nôtre, et il y réussit assez bien; il est doux et poli, et je le crois bon homme; je serois fort aise d'avoir plusieurs connoissances comme lui, car à tout prendre il est supérieur à presque tous les gens avec qui je vis.’ *Letters*, vol. iii. pp. 286, 287.

It would be unjust to Gibbon to omit the terms in which he is mentioned in another letter.

‘M. Gibbon a ici le plus grand succès, on se l'arrache, il se conduit fort bien, et sans avoir, je crois, autant d'esprit que feu M. Hume, il ne tombe pas dans les mêmes ridicules. Je ne sais pas si tous les jugemens qu'il porte sont bien justes, mais il se comporte avec tout le monde d'une manière qui ne donne point de prise aux ridicules; ce qui est fort difficile à éviter dans les sociétés qu'il fréquente.’ vol. iii. pp. 295, 296.

It is really amusing to observe the *acharnement* with which this lady pursues the encyclopedists. Even to Voltaire himself she sometimes avows truths very little suited to his taste. She has indeed the precaution previously to disarm his wrath by a peace-offering of unmeasured flattery; yet the irritability of that mirror of philosophers could not fail to be touched by the point and boldness of her strictures.

‘Vos philosophes, ou plutôt soi-disant philosophes, sont de froids personnages; fastueux sans être riches, téméraires sans être braves, prêchant l'égalité par esprit de domination, se croyant les premiers hommes du monde, de penser ce que pensent tous les gens qui pensent; orgueilleux, haineux, vindicatifs; ils feroient haïr la philosophie.’—*Letters*, vol. iv. p. 107.

‘J'ai mis beaucoup d'impartialité dans la guerre des philosophes, je ne saurois adorer leur encyclopédie, qui peut-être est adorable, mais dont quelques articles que j'ai lus m'ont ennuyée à la mort. Je ne saurois admettre pour législateurs des gens qui n'ont que de l'esprit, peu de talent et point de goût, qui, quoique très-honnêtes gens, écrivent les choses les plus malsonnantes sur la morale, dont tous les raisonnemens sont des sophismes, des paradoxes; on voit clairement qu'ils n'ont d'autre but que de courir après une célébrité où ils ne parviendront jamais; ils ne jouiront pas même de la gloriole des Fontenelle et la Motte,

Motte, qui sont oubliés depuis leur mort; mais eux, ils le seront de leur vivant; j'en excepte, à toute sorte d'égards M. d'Alembert, quoiqu'il ait été mon délateur auprès de vous; mais c'est un égarement que je lui pardonne, et dont la cause mérite quelque indulgence; c'est le plus honnête homme du monde, qui a le cœur bon, un excellent esprit, beaucoup de justesse, du goût sur bien des choses; mais il y a de certains articles qui sont devenus pour lui affaires de parti, et sur lesquels je ne lui trouve pas le sens commun.' vol. iv. p. 265.

This is really fine writing; but we are, after all, not disposed to give Madame du Deffand so much credit for her opinions on this subject as they may appear to deserve; because, we think, they originated chiefly from a spirit of party. There was unquestionably in the doctrines of Voltaire and his satellites enough to alarm a judgment so sound and practical as that which she possessed; but the truth is, that for some time previous to the revolution a strong party had been formed in opposition to the philosophers. It was a party composed of the majority of the noblesse, of courtiers, and of pensioners; of all those, in a word, who were interested in the existence of public abuses, and whom rank or connections, or wealth, furnished with motives to loyalty. In strict consistency with the enlightened principles by which the members of that party were actuated, they anxiously limited hostilities to the political heresies of the encyclopedists. In the religious, or rather the anti-religious tenets of that sect, they not only acquiesced, but acquiesced with the utmost cordiality. Deserting the altar, they rallied round the throne; and seem to have imagined that the civil establishment would be cheaply saved at the expense of the ecclesiastical. In the war of extirpation which was waged against the Christian faith, they were not content with neutrality. They joined the cry of the assailants, and even cheered them on to the prey, under the vain hope of luring the dogs of havock from the spoils of the state by glutting them with those of the church. The wisdom of this conduct has been sufficiently ascertained by the event; but that the real aristocratical party was as hostile to the religious creed of the Christian church as it was to the political creed of the philosophers, is a truth established by the internal history of France during the last century. It is a truth also of which various illustrations are supplied by these letters. Through the whole tenor of Madame du Deffand's remarks on the maxims of Voltaire, the discrimination to which we have alluded prevails; and though we are not so ignorant as to identify the economists with the encyclopedists, it is to the same *esprit du corps* that we attribute the bitterness with which the woman who echoes back the impieties of Voltaire calumniates the enlightened patriotism of Turgot.

As Madame du Deffand lived in the most brilliant circle in Paris, she had opportunities to judge of all the persons of rank and

and character who flocked to that metropolis. Their opinions on these distinguished strangers, of whom the greater number have since that period acquired, by means more or less creditable, some celebrity, form the most interesting part of these volumes.

During the reigns of the two last of the Bourbons, France was honoured by the presence of several royal visitors. Of these the first in order was the King of Denmark, Christian the Second. He was received with all the distinctions of majesty, and obtained considerable popularity both with the king and the people. It appears however that the peculiarities of his disposition were even at that time apt to betray themselves. In the following amusing anecdote we see the symptoms of that constitutional defect which afterwards led to more serious follies.

'Sa majesté Danoise a jeté d'abord tout son feu ; excepté quelques louanges qu'il donne de tems en tems à Voltaire et au feu président de Montesquieu, il ne dit rien qu'on puisse répéter ; tous les éloges qu'on peut faire de lui consistent à n'avoir rien dit, ni rien fait de ridicule et de mal à propos ; il est, dit-on, comme une figure de cire ; on croiroit qu'il ne voit ni n'entend ; il n'a point paru sensible à aucune des sêtes qu'on lui a données ; quand, au spectacle, le parterre applaudit, il bat des mains. A Chantilly on représenta le *Silphe* ; l'acteur qui chanta

Vous êtes Roi, jeune et charmant,

Et vous doutez qu'on vous adore, &c.

se tourna vers lui. Tout le monde battit des mains, et lui avec les autres : delà on a jugé qu'il étoit imbécille. Je suspends mon jugement, je crois que c'est un enfant fatigué, ennuyé et étourdi de tout ce qu'on lui fait voir et entendre. Il part après demain, et j'espère que nous n'en entendrons plus parler. Il y auroit de quoi faire des volumes des vers qu'on a faits pour lui, tous plus plats et plus mauvais les uns que les autres.' vol. i. pp. 277—8.

Christian was followed, after a long interval, by a genius of a higher order, Gustavus the Third of Sweden. On the graces and amiable qualities of this monarch, whose unconquerable spirit made him at one time the hope of Europe, Madame du Deffand enlarges with much warmth of praise. To these sovereigns succeeded the Emperor Joseph, who was equally admired and caressed.

'On ne parle ici que de l'empereur. Le hasard me l'a fait voir, je soupai Lundi passé chez les Necker ; j'y arrivai à neuf heures et demie, l'empereur y étoit depuis sept heures un quart, il avoit été avec M. Necker environ deux heures, après lequel tems il passa chez Madame Necker qui avoit chez elle MM. Gibbon, l'Abbé de Boismont,\* Marmontel, le Roi de l'Académie des Sciences, notre ami Schowaleff. Quand j'entrai dans la chambre, il vint au-devant de moi, et dit à M. Necker, présentez-moi ; je fis une profonde révérence, on me conduisit

\* A man of letters, whose pulpit eloquence displeased from the affectation of his style.

à mon fauteuil; l'empereur voulant me parler et ne sachant que me dire, et me voyant un sac à nœuds, me dit: Vous faites des nœuds.—Je ne puis faire autre chose.—Cela n'empêche pas de penser.—Non, et surtout aujourd'hui que vous donnez tant à penser.—Il resta jusqu'à dix heures un quart; il sait très-bien notre langue, il parle facilement et bien; il est d'une simplicité charmante; il est surpris qu'on s'en étonne; il dit que l'état naturel n'est pas d'être roi, mais d'être homme. Il n'y a rien qu'il ne veuille voir et connoître; il aura tout vu et connu, excepté la société pour laquelle le tems lui manque, ayant partagé celui qu'il doit passer ici en deux emplois, de curieux et de courtisan; il avoit été le Joudi précédent à l'académie des sciences, je crois vous en avoir rendu compte. Il fut avant-hier, Vendredi, à l'Académie des Belles Lettres, et hier à l'Académie Française; il n'a point voulu faire de jaloux. On ignore le jour de son départ; je crois que ce sera bientôt. Ses succès ici ont été fort grands; mais comme il n'a distingué personne, ceux qui prétendent à l'être commencent à foiblir sur ses louanges. *Letters*, vol. iii. pp. 261, 262.

It would gratify us to enrich our pages with a greater variety of the happy portraits which perpetually start up under the pen of Madame du Deffand; but we must content ourselves with selecting only a few specimens, which yet shew the touch of a master.

The character of Necker is admirable.—

'Ils (M. and Madame Necker) ne vous plaisent pas beaucoup, je le vois bien; tous les deux ont de l'esprit, mais surtout l'homme; je conviens qu'il lui manque cependant une des qualités qui rend le plus agréable, une certaine facilité qui donne pour ainsi dire de l'esprit à ceux avec qui l'on cause; il n'aide point à développer ce que l'on pense, et l'on est plus bête avec lui que l'on ne l'est tout seul, ou avec d'autres.' *Letters*, vol. iii. p. 151.

'Nothing' (as the editor has well observed) 'can be more accurate, nor better defined than this account of M. Necker in society.'

Two of our illustrious compatriots are thus depicted. That a suspicion so unworthy as that which is thrown out at the close of this extract should have entered into the imagination of Madame du Deffand, is extraordinary; and may perhaps lead to no favourable idea of the best society in Paris.

'Le Fox compte vous voir. Dites-lui que je vous ai écrit beaucoup de bien de lui. En effet j'en pense à de certains égards, il n'a pas un mauvais cœur, mais il n'a nulle espèce de principes, et il regarde en pitié tous ceux qui en ont; je ne comprends pas quels sont ses projets pour l'avenir, il ne s'embarrasse pas du lendemain. La plus extrême pauvreté, l'impossibilité de payer ses dettes, tout cela ne lui fait rien.'

'Le Fitzpatrick paroîtroit plus raisonnable, mais le Fox assure qu'il est encore plus indifférent que lui sur ces deux articles; cette étrange sécurité les élève, à ce qu'ils croient, au-dessus de tous les hommes. Ces deux personnages doivent être bien dangereux pour toute la jeunesse. Ils ont beaucoup joué ici, surtout le Fitzpatrick; il a beaucoup perdu.'



perdu. "Où prennent-ils de l'argent? c'est ce que je ne comprends pas; je ne saurois m'intéresser à eux, ce sont des têtes absolument dérangées, et sans espérance de retour; je n'aurois jamais cru, si je ne l'avois connu par moi-même, qu'il pût y avoir des têtes comme les leurs. J'ai bien quelque inquiétude de confier cette lettre au Fox; s'il avoit la curiosité de l'ouvrir, il deviendrait mon ennemi; mais je ne puis me persuader qu'il soit capable de cette infidélité." *Letters*, vol. iii. pp. 219, 220.

Voltaire was one of Madame du Deffand's oldest correspondents. The last volume of the new collection consists almost entirely of letters to him, and some curious particulars relating to his conduct and temper are discovered in the other letters of that collection. It is the fate of this singular man, as it was of his patron and rival the King of Prussia, to become less amiable as he is better known. Since his death, various publications have appeared of the private writings of his contemporaries; and they have invariably tended to throw a shade on his name. It is not merely that he is proved to have been without principle or sensibility,—for on these points there has long been but one opinion,—but he is proved to have been completely destitute of that elevation of spirit, which, though nearly allied to feeling and principle, sometimes survives the absence of both. We believe indeed, that a reverence for itself is no less the criterion than it assuredly is one of the prerogatives of true genius. But the base chicanery to which Voltaire habitually stooped for the purpose of gratifying his vanity or his vengeance, degrades him, if possible, still more from the highest ranks of intellect, than it does from the level of vulgar honesty. Some amusing illustrations of this part of his disposition may be found in the memoirs of his friend Marmontel; and not a few will occur to those who recollect the story of his memorable residence at the court of Prussia. The volumes before us furnish some of the same kind, of which we shall produce one in the words of Madame du Deffand; premising, however, that the president Henault was, at the period in question, above eighty years of age, that Voltaire professed a friendship for him and occasionally corresponded with him in terms of cordiality; and that, independent of the natural *espieglerie* of the philosopher, no motive can be assigned for the attack here described, excepting rage at a very eloquent though respectful remonstrance which the president had some time before addressed to him on his atheistical principles. Even if the accusation brought against him should be unfounded; still its having been detailed, and implicitly believed by one of his warmest admirers, is a fact worthy of notice.

'Je ne crois pas vous avoir conté un fait assez singulier; il parut, il y a un an ou deux, une vie d'Henri IV, par M. de Buri. Il y a environ

viron six mois qu'il a paru une petite brochure dont la police a arrêté le débit, qui a pour titre : *Examen de la nouvelle histoire de Henri IV, de M. de Buri, par le Marquis de B...* Il y a dans cette brochure une critique amère et sanglante de la chronologie du Président; nous avons été occupés pendant quatre mois à empêcher qu'il en eût connoissance; je me fis amener un M. Castillon qui travaille au journal encyclopédique, pour obtenir de lui de ne point faire l'extrait de ce petit ouvrage; il me le promit et m'a tenu parole. Il y a six semaines ou deux mois que le Président reçoit une lettre de Voltaire qui lui parle de cette brochure et lui transcrit l'article qui le regarde, et un autre qu'on peut appliquer à une personne bien considérable. Nous fîmes bien déconcertés; le Président ne fut point aussi troublé que nous l'appréhendions. Il fit une réponse fort sage; Voltaire lui a récrit trois lettres depuis cette première; il veut absolument qu'il réponde, et comme le Président persiste à ne le vouloir pas, il lui offre de répondre pour lui; le Président y consent pourvu que Voltaire y mette son nom. Voltaire lui a d'abord dit qu'il croyoit que l'auteur de cette critique étoit la Beaumelle; depuis il lui a dit que c'étoit un Marquis de Belestad, lequel ne sait ni lire ni écrire; ce n'est ni l'un ni l'autre, on en est sûr; mais savez-vous qui on soupçonne avec juste raison? Voltaire, oui, Voltaire lui-même. C'est de cela qu'on peut dire, cela est ineffable. Oh! tous les hommes sont fous ou méchants, et le plus grand nombre est l'un et l'autre. *Letters*, vol. i, p. 274, 275.

We might extend this part of our subject by citing some observations, which, for justness of thought and knowledge of the world, deserve to be enrolled among the maxims of the most practised observers of mankind: and to them might be added specimens of playfulness of wit and natural pleasantry; but we prefer giving admission to the following example of inimitable naiveté.

‘ Je pense quelquefois au genre d'esprit que la nature m'a donné, car l'art n'y a rien ajouté, et le nombre de mes années n'est pas assurément celui de mes connoissances. Je pense quelquefois dans mes insomnies aux différens jugemens que l'on porte de moi; ils sont presque tous, faux; vous-même vous vous y trompez; tout ce que je conclus sur mon sujet, c'est que j'aurai mené une vie bien inutile, bien puérile, et que ce n'étoit pas la peine de me faire vivre aussi long tems; il y a cependant un nombre de gens qui me croient beaucoup d'esprit, et ceux là en ont si peu, qu'ils loueroient et approuveroient tout ce que je pourrais dire de bête et d'absurde. ’ vol. iii, p. 372.

Having pointed out to our readers the more agreeable traits of Mad. du Deffand's character, we are now called to the less welcome task of exemplifying some of its deformities. The letters before us may be said to lay open not only the mind, but, in some sense, the very manners of their author. It is easy to perceive, that with elegance and good breeding she united no small portion of coarseness and vulgarity. That she should possess the refinement which springs from purity of principle, was not indeed to be expected;

expected; but it is somewhat surprising, and the consideration of sex in the present instance enhances our surprise, that a person distinguished in general by nicety and truth of tact, should yet have had taste enough to be indelicate and profane. Mr. Walpole has remarked that 'she never affected scepticism;' and it is true that in her correspondence with him she is peculiarly guarded, and contents herself with a few facetious allusions to the Christian religion; but in her letters to the wits and philosophers of her own country, it is in vain to search for the same moderation. With these gentlemen she evidently piques herself on her freedom from prejudice, and labours to impress them with a conviction of the soundness of her infidelity. Still, however, we must do her the justice to say that she is never so much below herself as at those times when she endeavours to be humorous on sacred topics. We do not think ourselves obliged to produce any specimens of her efforts in this department of wit; neither are we tempted to enlarge on the extreme grossness which disgraces some parts of her correspondence. It may not however be without amusement to mention that among her many titles to fame, she possessed that of being a *gourmande*. The cautions of her friends against a vice, which in her debilitated condition was immediately followed by its punishment, were numerous, and as it might have been expected ineffectual. Her health appears to have suffered materially in consequence of this strange and unfeminine propensity. In one of her letters to the *Président Henault* she informs him—

Ces eaux réellement me feront du bien. Je crains seulement de trop manger: j'ai toujours un très-grand appétit, et c'est surtout le bœuf que j'aime; je ne saurais souffrir les poulardes et les poulets: le bœuf, le mouton, voilà ce qui me paraît délicieux. Aujourd'hui je craignais d'avoir trop mangé, et je me sens l'estomac très-dégagé; ce qui achève de me déterminer de prendre demain ma médecine qui ne sera que de deux onces de manne. tome iii, p. 107.

And again,

Mes nuits ne sont pas trop bonnes, et je crois que c'est que je mange un peu trop: hier je me suis retranché le bœuf, aujourd'hui je compte réformer la quantité de pain. tome iii, p. 126.

This is not, we believe, a common topic for *billets-doux*; at least on this side of the Channel.

We have in a preceding page expressed an opinion that the love of truth which Mad. du Deffand affected, and did in reality possess, was yet under the influence of a more powerful passion—that of vanity. We do not, as a proof of this remark, insist on the flattery with which she overwhelms her correspondents. The general understanding of society has so well adjusted the real value of language, that expressions of politeness, and even of affection may

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be employed on common occasions without the imputation of insincerity; although there still remain some forms of speech which are too sacred for vulgar application, and which no mind of feeling would condescend to hackney as terms of unmeaning compliment. As flattery has acquired a sort of prescriptive currency in the intercourse of the *beaux esprits* of both sexes, we have certainly no right to quarrel with it in the present instance. But our objection to Mad. du Deffand is, that whenever it suits her wishes, she can lay aside her frankness, and stoop to disguise or misrepresentation. Her conduct towards Voltaire, for example, furnishes more than one instance of such duplicity. She had many opportunities of knowing his character; and it appears that she estimated him pretty accurately according to his deserts. Yet his approbation was indispensable to every candidate for notoriety. She was therefore anxious to be in his good graces; and secured his patronage by unwearied adulation, and by a resolute sacrifice of her favourite prejudices.

In her letters to the philosopher of Ferney she exhausts every term of endearment and admiration. She assures him that he is the only writer and philosopher of genius of the age; that her affection for him is extreme; that she is his oldest and most attached friend; that she desires only to embrace him and to pass her last days in his society. Of these enthusiastic expressions, which were repaid by corresponding tokens of benevolence, the sincerity may be ascertained by adverting to the circumstance, that when Voltaire came to Paris, these devoted friends had only three interviews; and that his death is thus incidentally noticed at the close of a long letter.

‘Vraiment j’oublois un fait important, c’est que Voltaire est mort, on ne sait ni l’heure, ni le jour, il y en a qui disent que ce fut hier, d’autres avant-hier. L’obscurité qu’il y a sur cet événement vient, à ce qu’on dit, que l’on ne sait ce que l’on fera de son corps; le Curé de St. Sulpice ne veut point le recevoir; l’enverra-t-on à Ferney? Il est excommunié par l’Evêque dans le diocèse duquel est Ferney. Il est mort d’un excès d’opium qu’il a pris pour calmer les douleurs de sa strangurie, et j’ajouterois d’un excès de gloire, qui a trop secoué sa foible machine.’ vol. iii. p. 356.

On a comparison of her letters to Voltaire with those to Mr. Walpole, we are struck with some curious discrepancies of opinion on the same topics. To Walpole she always wrote with sincerity; to Voltaire often with finesse and management.

In the letters to Mr. Turgot, M. Turgot is ‘un fou,’ ‘aussi extravagant et présomptueux qu’il est possible de l’être;’ ‘denué de lumières;’ ‘un homme qui n’a pas le sens commun, qui ne voyant pas plus loin que son nez, croit tout voir, tout comprendre;’ ‘d’un orgueil et d’un dedain à faire rire;’ ‘un sot animal.’ To

Voltaire

Voltaire the same personage becomes 'un homme d'esprit, mais qui n'est pas absolument de votre genre.'

Of the 'Laws of Minos,' a play written by Voltaire in his old age, she says to Mr. Walpole:

'Hier au soir j'eus assez de monde à souper; le Kain, à la prière de Voltaire, vint nous faire la lecture des Loix de Minos. Ah! je suis bien confirmée que la vieillesse ne fait que des efforts impuissans; le tems de produire est passé, il ne faut plus penser à augmenter sa réputation, et pour ne la point diminuer, il ne faut plus faire parler de soi. Je suis bien trompée si cette pièce a le moindre succès; il y a cependant quelques beaux vers. Dès qu'elle sera imprimée je vous l'enverrai. On ne peut refuser à Voltaire la curiosité de le lire, tant pis pour lui s'il s'expose à la critique. Son exemple doit servir de leçon non-seulement aux gens à talens, mais à tout le monde en général. On ne doit plus dans la vieillesse prétendre à aucun applaudissement, il faut consentir à l'oubli, et le consentement qu'on y donne de bonne grâce peut du moins mettre à l'abri du mépris.' vol. ii, pp. 378, 379.

To Voltaire she observes on the same production.

'J'ai tout entendu, mon cher Voltaire, et je vous en dois des remerciemens infinis. Je doute que les morts soient aussi contents de vous que le sont les vivans. Horace rougira (si tant est que les ombres rougissent) de se voir surpassé, et Minos de se voir si bien jugé, et d'être forcé d'avouer qu'il devrait subir les punitions auxquelles il condamne des gens moins coupables que lui. Asterie est très-intéressante. Le Roi représente très-bien Gustave III; c'est en faire un grand éloge. Sans doute j'aime ce Gustave, j'ai eu le bonheur de le connoître pendant son séjour ici. Je puis vous assurer qu'il est aussi aimable dans la société, qu'il est grand et respectable à la tête de la chose publique. C'est le héros que vous devez célébrer et peindre; il n'y aura point d'ombre au tableau.' vol. iv, pages 190, 191.

After these remarks she gravely adds,

'En vérité, mon cher Voltaire, vous n'avez que trente ans. Si c'est grâce à qui vous savez, que vous ne vieillissez pas, vous vérifiez bien le proverbe: oignez vilain, &c. &c.' vol. iv, page 191.

And again—

'Cessez donc d'écrire, si vous voulez nous persuader que c'est votre âge qui vous empêche de venir; vous avez quarante ans moins que moi, et j'ai bien été cette année à Chanteloup. Quand l'âme est aussi jeune que l'est la vôtre, le corps s'en ressent; vous n'avez aucune incommodité positive.' vol. iv, page 191.

But the most unjustifiable example of her complaisance occurs in respect to the letters which, it will be recollected, passed between Mr. Walpole and Voltaire on the comparative merits of the French and English drama. Voltaire was anxious to draw out this correspondence into a regular controversy; a design which was successfully eluded by his antagonist. Madame du Deffand

was perfectly aware that Mr. Walpole, although he had declined any farther discussion, remained unshaken in his opinions; yet in noticing one of the letters written by Voltaire on this occasion, she thus compliments away the good sense and critical sagacity of her best friend.

'Ah! j'ai un thème pour vous écrire; j'ai entre mes mains la copie de votre lettre à M. Walpole. C'est un chef-d'œuvre de goût, de bon sens, d'esprit, d'éloquence, de politesse, etc. etc. Je ne suis pas étonnée des révolutions que vous faites dans tous les esprits. Je ne vous parlerai plus de la Bletterie, j'aurais voulu que vous n'en eussiez pas parlé. Quel mal peut-il vous faire?

Né ministre du Dieu qu'en ce temple on adore,

Vous en êtes quitte à bon marché; ah! qu'il vous seroit aisé de mépriser vos critiques, qu'est-ce qui les écoute?

'Je suis au comble de ma joie, je viens de recevoir pour bouquet de ma fête les sept premiers volumes de votre dernière édition; je m'en suis fait lire les tables. Tous vos ouvrages seront-ils compris dans la suite? Je ne veux que cette seule lecture, et le Journal Encyclopédique, pour avoir connoissance des autres livres, bien déterminée à n'en lire aucun entièrement. C'est Mad. de Luxembourg qui m'a fait ce beau présent; je ne vois, je n'aime que ceux qui vous admirent. M. de Walpole est bien converti; il faut lui pardonner ses erreurs passées. L'orgueil national est grand dans les Anglois, ils ont de la peine à nous accorder la supériorité dans les choses de goût, tandis que sans vous, nous reconnoissons en eux toute supériorité dans les choses de raisonnement.' vol. iv, page 99 to 101.

On the expression '*bien converti*,' Mr. Walpole very good naturedly observes in a note,

'L'amitié de Mad. du Deffand pour moi lui dictoit cette expression, qu'assurément je n'ai jamais autorisée. J'avois rompu tout commerce avec Voltaire, indigné de ses mensonges et de ses bassesses.' v. iv, p. 100.

The most remarkable feature, however, of Madame du Deffand's mind, is her want of feeling. The impression which cannot fail to be produced by her own representations corresponds with the terms in which she is described by La Harpe: 'Il étoit difficile d'avoir moins de sensibilité et plus d'egoïsme.'

In the choice of her friends she was influenced entirely by caprice; and during the crisis of her friendship the powers of language seemed to sink under its vehemence. Yet it required no extraordinary event to convert these transports of love into bitter resentment. The most trivial circumstance, if it tended to eclipse her pretensions, or to thwart her reigning passion, effaced the attachment of years, and substituted in its stead the most implacable rancour.

At one period of her life, she felt as sincere an affection for Mademoiselle Lespinasse as she was capable of entertaining. They quarrelled



quarrelled and separated; and from that moment there seems to have been treasured up in the breast of Madame du Deffand, a hatred which even the sorrows and sufferings of its object had no charm to mitigate. However justly she might in the first instance have been exasperated, it was at least to be hoped that the death of her rival might have restored some of those first impressions which had been cast into shade by mutual jealousy and misconduct. When she heard of that event, she exclaimed, according to La Harpe, 'elle aurait bien dû mourir quinze ans plutôt; je n'aurais pas perdu d'Alembert.' The manner in which she announces it to Mr. Walpole is in the same cast.

'Mademoiselle de Lespinasse est morte cette nuit, à deux heures après minuit, ç'auoit été pour moi autrefois un événement, aujourd'hui ce n'est rien du tout.' vol. iii, page 149.

From this time Madame du Deffand never alludes to her without some expression of contempt or anger; generally stiling her 'la demoiselle,' or 'la muse de l'encyclopédie.' It is well known that the philosophers were involved in the quarrel between these ladies. To the infinite mortification of Madame du Deffand, her two principal friends, the President Henault and D'Alembert, warmly espoused the cause of Mademoiselle Lespinasse. This preference she never forgave. Marmontel relates, that, at the period of the rupture, she imperiously proposed to D'Alembert the alternative of breaking with Mademoiselle Lespinasse or with herself. He, without hesitation, resigned himself to his young friend; and incurred, by that act, the inexorable hatred of her whom he had quitted; a hatred which, among various efforts of vengeance, vented itself in sarcastic criticisms on his style as an author.

The President Henault had been for many years the favoured lover of Madame du Deffand; but he too was, in evil hour, seduced by the attractions of Mademoiselle Lespinasse; and even proceeded to request her hand in marriage. This conduct, as it might have been expected, excited the indignation while it cooled the affection of his former mistress; and subsequently to this period, the intercourse between the lovers appears to have been of a temper well adapted to the great age of the respective parties. His death is thus recorded—

'Le Président mourut hier à sept heures du matin, je l'avois jugé à l'agonie dès le Mercredi; il n'avoit ce jour-là, ni n'a eu depuis ni souffrances ni connoissance, jamais fin n'a été plus douce, il s'est éteint. J'avois tant de preuves de son peu d'amitié, que je crois n'avoir perdu qu'une connoissance; cependant, comme cette connoissance étoit fort ancienne, et que tout le monde nous croyoit intimes (excepté peu de personnes qui savent quelques-uns des sujets dont j'avois à me plaindre.) Je reçois des complimens de toute part.' *Letters*, vol. ii, p. 109, 110.

The only person of her own nation whom, after many years of intimacy, she did not dismiss from her regard, was Mr. Pont de Veyle; and it must be owned that the merit of this single exception is not a little abated by the character of the man in whose behalf it was made. It is not easy to imagine a being less amiable or less respectable than Mr. Pont de Veyle. We cannot afford room for the description which Mr. Walpole has given of him; but it is enough to observe that with many singularities and much talent, he was chiefly distinguished by his indifference and his want of sensibility. The President Henault describes him as one 'qui s'amuse du tout et n'aime rien.' This gentleman however was to the day of his death the companion of Madame du Deffand. In the 'Notice Historique,' prefixed to the 'Correspondance inédite,' a dialogue is given which sufficiently paints the two friends.

*'Pont-de-Veyle, lui dit-elle un jour, depuis que nous sommes amis, il n'y a jamais eu un nuage dans notre liaison.—Non, madame.—N'est-ce pas parce que nous ne nous aimons guères plus l'un que l'autre?—Cela peut bien être, madame,'* page xvi.

Immediately after the death of this attached friend, Madame du Deffand went to a large assembly; and when the company condoled with her on her loss, she replied, *helas! il est mort ce soir à six heures, sans cela vous ne me verriez pas ici.* La Harpe, who assures us that he was present when this scene took place, adds 'et elle soupa comme à son ordinaire, c'est à dire fort bien, car elle était très gourmande.' It should be observed however that this anecdote is in its circumstances somewhat inconsistent with the account which Madame du Deffand herself gives of the death of Mr. Pont de Veyle. The terms in which she there laments this misfortune, are indeed rather more impassioned than those which she commonly employs on such occasions; yet they have about them a coldness and an air of disquisition which are very different from the tone of deep sorrow. We should willingly insert the account we allude to; but prefer giving our readers a sketch of the state of her feelings some time after the event happened.

*'J'ai perdu mon dernier ami en perdant Pontdeveyle, il n'étoit point aimable, j'en conviens, mais je le voyois tous les jours; il étoit de bon conseil, je lui étois nécessaire, et il me l'étoit, aussi. Aujourd'hui je ne tiens à rien, je n'ai que ma valeur intrinsèque, et c'est être réduite à moins que rien.'* *Letters*, vol. iii, page 373.

In appreciating this part of Madame du Deffand's character much undoubtedly must be attributed to the original temperament of her mind. She was constitutionally selfish and cold. But it appears to us, that this habit of selfishness was made inveterate by her want of principle, and by the influence of the circumstances in which she was placed. Defect of principle is no less fatal to the  
sensitive,

sensitive, than to the intellectual parts of man. The heart which has never been taught to swell at some high motive, will yield to ignoble impulses. Its powers will be thus enervated, while its propensities are debased; and habitual debasement (for let it be recollected we do not speak here of a temporary dereliction of principle) cannot consist with the indulgence of any profound emotions. It is a wise provision of our nature, which has united the higher faculties of the heart and the understanding by so many common ties; and has established a sympathy between that which is elevated in morals and that which is energetic in passion.

The ill effects, however, which are apt to result from an absence of principle, may yet, as daily experience proves, be counteracted by the operation of circumstances. There are many situations, which habitually invite the exercise of the amiable affections; and in which, by consequence, those affections, even uncontroled by any decided moral influence, may be maintained in purity and vigour. Thus a life passed in retirement, where the feelings are not broken by a multiplicity of objects, or in familiar intercourse with romantic scenery, or in the bosom of domestic happiness, cannot fail under every supposition, to cherish the better inclinations of the heart. It is indeed the praise of the domestic relations, that they have the power not only to protect the feelings while yet unsullied, but also to reclaim them when vitiated, and to revive them when weakened: not only to preserve the vestal flame, but, if it be quenched, to rekindle it by an ætherial influence. In this point of view the institution of marriage is peculiarly striking, because it tends more directly than any other cause, to concenter and purify the affections if deadened by vice, or frittered away by frivolity. It calls up the neglected or abused energies of nature; and winning them to exertion by the charm of attractions whose force is in tenderness, teaches them to spread and luxuriate round the circle of the domestic duties. It acts therefore as an internal principle of renovation, to keep society from rapid degeneracy. Operating, if we may use the expression, by the mere movement of the machine, it corrects and rectifies the moral tone; and thus, in point of virtuous sensations, brings back every successive generation to the standard of the preceding.

These remarks have been suggested by a glance at the disadvantages to which Madame du Deffand was exposed. As her want of feeling was not supplied by principle, neither was her want of principle compensated nor even neutralised by any fortunate concurrence of circumstances. The career of her life was such as almost to preclude the possibility of a return to a better system. From the restraints of a cloister she was early transferred to the excesses of a profligate metropolis, and

a court still more profligate. Yielding to the torrent, she abandoned herself to the reigning vices; and was not more celebrated among the witty for wit, than among the gay for dissipation, and the profane for impiety. From this state of ruin she might have been rescued by a happy marriage; but here too her evil genius interfered. According to the fashion among the higher circles in France, in the disposal of her hand the wishes of her relations alone were consulted; and the consequences were such as might have been prophesied; dishonour to her husband and disgrace to herself. She pursued with increased ardour the pleasures which had already betrayed her reputation; and at length by the shameless capriciousness of her gallantries, revolted even the indulgent morality of a Parisian public. Thus situated, with a husband whom she despised, and at length renounced, and without children, she had not even a fair chance of being recalled to goodness by the visitings of a pure and tender sentiment. It is therefore far from surprising, that she should have finally sunk into that utter heartlessness, from which at a later period she in vain endeavoured to rouse herself. At the later period here alluded to, she felt, as we have already remarked, the want of some fixed and sublime object of attention; and how painfully she felt it, may be gathered from her letters, which abound with traits like the following: '*Cependant il aime, et quoique ce ne soit qu'une poupée, cela vaut mieux que d'avoir l'ame vide. De tout ce qu'on rencontre, on ne trouve rien auquel on puisse s'attacher.*' She was conscious that the ennui, by which she was tormented, sprung from the '*besoin de s'attacher*;' and under this consciousness, she determined, when the resources of health and beauty had failed, to take refuge in the exercise of the affections. It was certainly most wise and natural for her in the midst of solitude and privation, to wish for some companion; '*c'est toujours* (it is thus she explains her motives) '*un bien, d'être le principal objet de quelqu'un, rien n'est pis que l'indifférence active et passive, c'est-à-dire, celle qui est en nous, et celle qu'on trouve dans les autres.*'—vol. iii. p. 432.

The first object of her choice was the lady whom we have already mentioned, Mademoiselle Lespinasse. The history of the connection between these singular women, and of the causes which led to its dissolution, it is unnecessary here to repeat, nor should we much covet the task of recording the commotions excited among the wise and learned of France, by the wranglings of a superannuated coquette and a delirious sentimentalist. The result, however, of a union which commenced under flattering auspices, goes far to prove that Madame du Deffand was incapable of being seriously attached. Four years passed in receiving good offices at the hands

of

of a person, anxious, for a time at least, to conciliate her regard, and peculiarly gifted with the talent of attaching, were insufficient to rectify the selfishness of that impassive mind. In the species of good-will which she professed towards her companion, there was no infusion of any sentiment distinct from a supreme reference to her own comfort. This was the object in which all her loves and friendships terminated; and independently of this object, she was insensible alike to joy or sorrow. Whatever might have been the delinquencies of Mademoiselle Lespinasse, the original cause of the rupture is to be found in the ungovernable self-love of her protectress.

The year subsequent to that which thus separated her from Mademoiselle Lespinasse, introduced her to Mr. Walpole. As the intimacy which followed this introduction, forms one of the most interesting features in her history, it has excited no little curiosity and discussion. It is indeed a fair problem to decide, how far in her mind a softer sentiment was mixed with that of friendship. We shall here avail ourselves of the language of the editor of the 'Letters of Madame du Deffand to Mr. Horace Walpole.'

'At the commencement of Mr. Walpole's acquaintance with Madame du Deffand he was near fifty, and she above seventy years of age, and entirely blind. She had already long passed the first epoch in the life of a Frenchwoman, that of gallantry, and had as long been established as a *bel-esprit*; and it is to be remembered that in the anti-revolutionary world of Paris these epochas in life were as determined, and as strictly observed, as the changes of dress on a particular day of the different seasons; and that a woman endeavouring to attract lovers after she had ceased to be *galante*, would have been not less ridiculous than her wearing velvet when all the rest of the world were in *demi-saisons*. Madame du Deffand, therefore, old and blind, had no more idea of attaching Mr. Walpole to her as a lover, than she had of the possibility of any one suspecting her of such an intention; and indulged her lively feelings, and the violent fancy she had taken for his conversation and character, in every expression of admiration and attachment, which she really felt, and which she never supposed capable of misinterpretation. By himself they were not misinterpreted; but he seems to have had ever before his eyes a very unnecessary dread of their being so by others—a fear lest Madame du Deffand's extreme partiality and high opinion should expose him to suspicions of entertaining the same opinion of himself, or of its leading her to some extravagant mark of attachment; and all this he persuaded himself, was to be exposed in their letters to all the clerks of the Post-office at Paris, and all the idlers at Versailles.'

In addition to these judicious observations, it may be suggested, that the situation of Madame du Deffand, and the complexion of her mind, were such at the period in question, as to account, in a great measure, for the impetuosity with which she grasped at the

friendship of Mr. Walpole, and the fidelity with which she adhered to it.

She was heart-sick of the world. In her attempts to secure confidence, and especially in the recent instance of Mademoiselle Lespinasse, she had been disappointed. Her had opinion of her species became inveterate; and she professed to be firmly persuaded that mankind was composed only of two classes, *les fous* and *les fripons*. But nature insensibly struggled against a perfect acquiescence in that persuasion; and she could not forbear still to indulge the prospect, or at least the wish, of meeting with some person on whose sincerity she might repose. When she saw Mr. Walpole, she thought that she had found the object of her search. The respectability of his character was imposing. To the polish of good-breeding and the charms of conversation, he added many estimable and engaging qualities; and above all, an honesty, which we are vain enough to think, was in some degree national. This was a virtue which invariably attracted Madame du Deffand. She observes in one of her letters, of a character which in this respect resembled that of Mr. Walpole, '*J'aime assez M. de Guignes, je lui trouve de la douceur, il a l'air de la franchise, et c'est une vertu assez rare dans le pays que j'habite.*' An impression like this, but more ardent, may be supposed to have resulted from the same quality in her new friend. Whether he corresponded in every point of view to the being whom she conceived necessary to her happiness, may be doubted; but he alone, in the round of her acquaintance, approached to that model; and he certainly so far approached to it, as to invite her imagination to fill up the deficiency. It appears to us therefore, that a variety of feelings entered into that celebrated intimacy; and though among the number, esteem and affection may fairly be classed, yet the predominant principle, we are afraid, was still self-love. She cherished it, not with the ardour of sympathy, but with the avidity of one who clings to his last hope.

But the sentiment in question, of whatever ingredients it might have been composed, is uniformly in these letters pourtrayed with an energy and a pathos to which we cannot refuse our admiration. These effusions of a devoted spirit would probably have been still more abundant, had they not been repressed by the ungracious severity of him to whom they were offered; but in spite of coldness and reproaches, Madame du Deffand perpetually breaks forth into the language of fondness, and that with a warmth and a simplicity which are truly affecting.

We are aware that this account may seem inconsistent with the representations which we have given in a preceding page, of the heartlessness of Madame du Deffand. Her attachment to Mr. Walpole



Walpole may perhaps be adduced as a proof that she was far from inaccessible to the most pure and lasting impressions. Such indeed we must confess was our first view of the subject; and such it would continue to be, if we adverted only to the tenor of her letters. But on a consideration of the circumstances of her life, and of some facts which we have already had occasion to notice, we have been induced to hesitate in admitting that conclusion. We do not doubt the sincerity of the attachment alluded to: but we doubt its depth and disinterestedness. We believe that the feeling which Madame du Deffand professed to have, really existed; but we think that it was neither so profound nor so free from selfishness as she perhaps imagined, and as the terms in which it is uttered imply. Our reasons for this opinion are briefly these.

In the first place we observe that these terms are not restricted to her correspondence with Mr. Walpole. She writes in language equally nervous and impassioned to all her friends. It seems as if in the moment of composition her genius always mounted to the same degree of heat; and mounted to it more by the stirrings of some inward principle of expansion, than by the application of any external influence. It would be easy to prove that in her letters, even to persons for whom she had no extraordinary preference, she used uncommon energy of diction. This is peculiarly the case with respect to Voltaire, whom it is sufficiently clear that she neither loved nor esteemed; but to whom she was in the habit of writing with an eloquence and an apparent sensibility which are nowhere surpassed in her addresses to Mr. Walpole. Examples of this kind may at least excite a suspicion, whether the strength of her friendships can be measured by that of her expressions.

In the second place we observe, that if this sentiment was indeed such as it may on a superficial view appear to be, it must have been the first real attachment of her life. We are then to believe, that, when she was more than seventy, she entertained for the first time, a predilection, in which all selfish considerations were lost in exclusive devotion towards its object. The bare statement of this circumstance seems to us to shew its improbability. If her affections had never been solicited to action till her acquaintance with Mr. Walpole, there might have been little extraordinary in so tardy a developement of feeling. But that she should have been surrounded for many years by favoured lovers, and that throughout that period, under every variety of situation, no fortunate incident should have touched her sensibility, is surely a sufficient proof that she was, for the remainder of her life, perfectly secure from any danger in that quarter. If, in her circumstances, she felt no real attachment before the age of seventy, we may pronounce it impossible that she should feel one after that age.

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If, however, we are required to explain, on other principles than those which we are calling into question, the nature of the friendship under review, we must observe, that there is one consideration which ought not to be overlooked. Mr. Walpole was the only person in whom Madame du Deffand, at any period of her life, placed perfect confidence. The effects of this single circumstance, to which we can here only allude, would, if they were fully traced out, probably account for all the peculiarities of her sentiments towards him. If the society, even of those whom she distrusted was necessary to her, in what light must she have regarded a connection which was above suspicion?

Besides, we cannot help attributing the *duration* of this friendship very much to the distance which separated the friends. If Madame du Deffand had obtained the wish which she frequently utters of an uninterrupted enjoyment of Mr. Walpole's company, we suspect that her next prayer would have been of an opposite description; and that even this distinguished favourite would have shared the lot of his predecessors.

It strikes us also as incontrovertible, that a sentiment so rooted and exclusive would have entirely absorbed the bosom where it was nourished, and left no room for habitual discontent or selfish complainings. Yet it is certain that in the case before us no such effect was produced. The letters to Mr. Walpole are crowded with the most frightful sketches of desertion and ennui. The sensation of desolateness which is imparted by some of these descriptions, resemble those with which a traveller may be supposed to contemplate the ruins of Thebes or Palmyra.

‘Je ne connois que deux maux dans le monde, les douleurs pour le corps, et l’ennui pour l’âme. Je n’ai de passion d’aucune sorte; presque plus de goût pour rien, nuls talens, nulle curiosité, presque aucune lecture ne me plaît ni ne m’intéresse. Je ne puis jouer ni travailler; que faut-il donc que je fasse? tâcher de me dissiper, entendre des riens, en dire, et penser que tout cela ne durera plus guères. Personne ne m’aime, je ne m’en plains pas, je suis trop juste pour cela.’—*Letters*, vol. iii, p. 249.

‘Je m’aperçois très-sensiblement que je perds petit à petit toutes les facultés de l’esprit; la mémoire, l’application, la facilité de l’expression, tout cela me manque au besoin. Je ne désire point d’être aimée, je sais qu’on n’aime point, et je le sais par moi-même, je n’exige point des autres qu’ils aient pour moi les sentimens que je n’ai point pour eux; ce qui s’oppose à mon bonheur c’est un ennui qui ressemble au ver solitaire et qui consume tout ce qui pourroit me rendre heureuse. Cette comparaison exigeroit une explication, mais je ne puis pas débrouiller cette pensée.’—p. 115.

Her dread of solitude, aggravated as it was by ill health and want of sight, obliged her in the year 1767 to supply the place of Mademoiselle Lespinasse by another inmate. Mademoiselle Sanadon,

on whom her choice fell, appears to have been exactly qualified for the situation; humble, submissive, unpretending. As she attracted no admiration, she formed no party, and excited no jealousy. She remained therefore till the death of her tyrant, in a state of peaceful and contented imprisonment.

But the resources of a single companion were insufficient, and Madame du Deffand was impelled, by the increasing horrors of her situation, to invite her nephew, M. d'Aulon, with his family, to make part of her domestic society. In reply to some observations of her correspondent on this project, she thus explains her motives.

‘ Vous avez peut-être toute raison en prévoyant que ce sera moins un agrément qu’un embarras dans ma vie. Mais, mon ami, vous ne savez pas à quel point mon caractère est foible, et l’abattement où je tombe quand je crains de passer mes soirées seule; la sorte d’humiliation qui tient à l’abandon m’est absolument insupportable; j’aurois mieux le sacristain des Minimes pour compagnie, que de passer mes soirées toute seule; c’est un point fixe que j’ai dans la tête, une espèce de folie qui me fit aller, il y a vingt-cinq ans, en province, où je passai une année entière. Enfin, que vous dirai-je? il m’est nécessaire de n’être pas abandonnée à mes réflexions; si je ne craignois que vous ne traitassiez ce que j’ai à vous dire de métaphysique, je vous dirois tout ce qui se passe en moi; mais à quoi cela serviroit-il? à vous attrister peut-être, ou du moins vous ennuyer. — *Letters*, vol. iii, p. 425.

In another letter she illustrates, in a very lively manner, the same doctrine, ‘ elle (ma niece) et son mari seront pour moi ce que sont les haies qu’on place sur les grands chemins bordés de précipices, ils ne garantissent pas du danger, mais ils en diminuent la frayeur.’

There is something impressive in the contemplation of this celebrated woman at this period of her career. It is affecting to observe, with how many props a decaying heart loves to sustain its weaknesses.

In spite, however, of every effort, her contempt of human nature increased; and her distrust of her friends (always excepting Mr. Walpole) was daily aggravated. She turned with disgust from the hollowness of those enjoyments from which age and sorrow had stolen their first colours; and sickened at the prospect of a world, which to her was lighted only by the gleams of a setting sun. The future at the same time was dark and cheerless.

It is related of Madame Roland, that on the night preceding her execution, she employed herself in playing on a musical instrument; and drew forth such tones of horror as thrilled the hearts of her fellow-prisoners. It was, perhaps, something of the same presentiment which inspired the following passage.

‘ Pour moi, Monsieur, je l’avoue, je n’ai qu’une pensée fixe, qu’un sentiment, qu’un chagrin, qu’un malheur, c’est la douleur d’être née; il

il n'y a point de rôle qu'on puisse jouer sur le théâtre du monde auquel je ne préférasse le néant, et ce qui vous paroîtra bien inconséquent c'est que quand j'aurois la dernière évidence d'y devoir rentrer, je n'en aurois pas moins d'horreur pour la mort; expliquez-moi à moi-même, éclaircz-moi, faites-moi part des vérités que vous découvrirez; enseignez-moi le moyen de supporter la vie, ou d'en voir la fin sans répugnance. Vous avez toujours des idées claires et justes; il n'y a que vous avec qui je voudrois raisonner, mais malgré l'opinion que j'ai de vos lumières, je serai fort trompée si vous pouvez satisfaire aux choses que je vous demande.

She still felt, even to agony, the necessity of some superlative sentiment on which she might lavish the energies of her mind; and these vague and feverish aspirations after an unknown good became at length irresistible. She repeatedly expresses to Mr. Walpole her conviction of the happiness of devotion; and the justice of her opinions derives strength from their sincerity.

M. Craufurd vous racontera la vie que je mène, il vous dira, s'il veut parler franchement, qu'il me trouve excessivement vieillie et de corps et d'esprit, que le nombre de mes connoissances est assez étendu, mais que je n'ai pas un ami, excepte, Pontdeveyle, qui les trois quarts du tems m'impatiente à mourir; que la Sanadona est d'une platitude extrême, que je vis cependant fort bien avec elle, qu'elle me fait faire une étude de la patience et de l'ennui; qu'enfin je suis assez raisonnable, mais pas infiniment heureuse, étant fort peu contente de tout ce qui m'environne, et moins de moi que de personne. Ma santé est médiocre, mais je n'en désire pas une meilleure, je serois fâchée d'avoir plus de forces et d'activité; mais ce que je voudrois ce seroit d'être dévote, d'avoir de la foi, non pas pour transporter des montagnes, ni pour passer les mers à pied sec, mais pour aller de mon tonneau à ma tribune, et remplir mes journées de pratiques qui, par un nouveau tour d'imagination, vaudroient pour le moins autant que toutes mes occupations présentes. Je lirois des Sermons au lieu de Romans, la Bible au lieu de Fables, la Vie des Saints au lieu de l'Histoire, et je m'ennuierois moins, ou pas plus de ces lectures que de toutes celles que je fais à présent; je supporterois plus patiemment les défauts et les vices de tout le monde, je serois moins choquée, moins révoltée des ridicules, de la fausseté, des menteries que l'on entend, et qu'on trouve sans cesse, enfin j'aurois un objet à qui j'offrirois toutes mes peines, et à qui je ferois le sacrifice de tous mes desirs.—*Letters*, vol. ii, p. 372—374.

After our readers have acknowledged the good sense and truth of these remarks, they will naturally expect, in the next place, to see them carried into practice. The account which we shall subjoin of the attempt made for that purpose, is worthy of attention. While it opens an interesting view of feelings and motives, it betrays at the same time the secret struggles of pride and shame.

La vieillesse, l'aveuglement, la surdité sont bien tristes, mais elles ne sont que cela, elles ne mettent pas au désespoir; elles abattent, elles

elles découragent : savez-vous le dernier effet qu'elles ont produit en moi ? souvenez-vous du songe d'Athalie, relisez-le si vous l'avez oublié, vous y trouverez ceci :

Dans le temple de Juifs un instinct m'a poussée  
Et d'apaiser leur Dieu j'ai conçu la pensée.

J'ai donc cherché à satisfaire cette inspiration, ou cette fantaisie, j'ai voulu voir, et j'ai vu un Ex-Jésuite, bon prédicateur, je lui ai trouvé beaucoup d'esprit, de raison et de douceur, il ne m'a rien dit de nouveau, mais sa conversation m'a plu ; je le crois de bonne foi, je compte le voir de tems en tems ; que sait-on ce qui en arrivera ? si en effet il y a une grâce, je l'obtiendrai peut-être ; à son défaut, si je peux me faire illusion, ce sera toujours quelque chose.

This experiment also failed, like those which preceded it ; and its failure affords another evidence of the situation of Madame du Deffand's mind. It appears, that she could estimate, and even detail the felicities of devotion. Her judgment was convinced, and her imagination captivated ; it might therefore have been supposed that there could remain no obstacle to the attainment of her wishes. But the fact is, that her heart was in fault. It had not intenseness of emotion enough to realize the deductions of her reason, nor to kindle into life the visions of her fancy. She could not acquiesce in the doctrine of an invisible world, because her feelings gave her no hints of its truth. Yet it is so natural to believe what we confess to be rational and essential to happiness, that the progress from desire to persuasion is almost inevitable in a mind which is yet alive to the voice of nature. Besides, Madame du Deffand had lost many friends, whose places she professed herself incapable of supplying. Here then was another opportunity by which the same powerful voice might have led to the same conclusion. For the conviction that the attachments of this life shall be renewed in some other state of being, seems necessarily to result from the operation of strong passions under great distress. It is the effect, not merely of reason, but, we had almost said, of instinct ; and is struck out by the workings of a wounded spirit, searching for consolation in the depths of its immortality. The mind, at such a moment, turns unbidden to the resource which has been provided. It draws arguments for hope from suffering and decay ; and is taught, in some sort, by the excess of its sensibility, to divine the grandeur of its destinies.

As an illustration of these remarks, we cannot help adding, that we have always been struck by the variety of language which Cicero, in his various writings, adopts with regard to the great truth in question. In his moral and philosophical works he debates the doctrine of a future state, with all the doubt, which under his circumstances

circumstances belonged to it. But when in the person of Cato,\* he laments the friends whom he has lost, he forgets his scepticism, and assumes the tone of confidence which was so imperiously demanded by his feelings.

Another example of the same kind may be found among the ranks of modern philosophy. D'Alembert was not possessed of much sensibility; but his attachment to Mademoiselle Lespinasse amounted almost to a romantic passion. Soon after the death of that lady, he composed his 'éloge' on Madame de Sacy. That performance, which is distinguished throughout by an affectionate mildness of style, closes with an interesting picture of the friendship that subsisted between Madame Lambert and Madame de Sacy. In touching on the sentiments which are excited by the remembrance of a departed friend, the author, it was understood, gave the transcript of his own feelings. Real grief, on this occasion, imparted to his words an eloquent tenderness, and wrung from the cold philosopher, tones which might not have disgraced Fénelon.

Madame de Lambert, qui survécut encore six années à M. de Sacy, entretenait et nourrit toujours ce sentiment cher à son cœur. Elle y joignit un espoir plus consolant encore, celui que la divinité bienfaisante donne aux âmes vertueuses, de se réunir un jour pour n'avoir plus à pleurer leur séparation; espoir en effet si propre à soulager les maux des cœurs sensibles; espoir dont la malheureuse humanité avoit un besoin si pressant, qu'elle a couru, pour ainsi dire, au devant de lui, avant que la bonté suprême et éternelle vult bien le lui présenter elle-même. Un sentiment profond et plein de vie, privé d'un objet chéri qu'il ne retrouvait plus, et ne pouvant supporter l'idée accablante d'être anéanti pour jamais, a inspiré, intéressé, éclairé la raison, pout lui faire embrasser avec transport cette attente précieuse d'une existence immortelle, dont le premier desir n'a pas dû naître dans une tête froide et philosophe, mais dans un cœur qui avoit aimé.—*D'Alembert, Eloges, tom. i, p. 233.*

The emotions which this passage is calculated to excite are sacred; and we will not violate their sanctity by introducing any quotations of an opposite tendency from the writings of Madame du Deffand. The last scenes indeed of her brilliant life were so melancholy, that we are not unwilling to shut them out of our remembrance.

Before we finally dismiss this subject, it is incumbent upon us to say a few words respecting the person to whom most of these letters are addressed.

In the notes to Madame du Deffand's letters, some extracts are given of Mr. Walpole's replies; and we confess that we are almost

\* De Senectute.



selfish enough to wish that they had occupied a greater portion of these volumes. They seem to us happy specimens of epistolary writing, as far as at least as talents are concerned. They are clever, agreeable, and spirited; abounding with amusing descriptions, lively sallies, and apposite traits of character. The style, though somewhat affected, is full of energy; and furnishes a pleasing proof of the proficiency to which a foreigner may attain in the French language.

These extracts speak favourably also for Mr. Walpole's moral feelings. The brutal excesses of the French populace on the execution of Lally, (excesses which were approved by Madame du Deffand,) he reprobates in the severest terms; and is no less vehement in his expressions of contempt for what he stigmatises as 'les mensonges et les bassesses' of Voltaire. The applauses lavished by that writer on the Empress Catharine are denounced in these powerful and indignant sarcasms.

'Voltaire me fait horreur avec sa Catherine; le beau sujet de badinage que l'assassinat d'un mari, et l'usurpateur de son trône! Il n'est pas mal, dit-il, qu'on ait une faute à réparer: Eh! comment répare-t-on un meurtre? Est-ce en retenant des poètes à ses gages? en payant des historiens mercenaires, et en soudoyant des philosophes ridicules à mille lieues de son pays? Ce sont ces âmes viles qui chantent un Auguste, et se taisent sur ses proscriptions.'—*Letters*, vol. i, pp. 148, 149.

To maintain uniformly a tone of such dignified honesty, is no common praise.

We should presume, from these scattered specimens, that the distinguishing feature of Mr. Walpole's correspondence, is sincerity. It must be owned, however, that at times he carries that virtue to a very singular excess. The language in which he frequently addresses his devoted correspondent, it would be mildness to designate as harsh and unfeeling. Some idea of its nature may be formed from one example.

'A mon retour de Strawberry-hill, je trouve votre lettre, qui me cause on ne peut pas plus de chagrin. Est-ce que vos lamentations, Madame, ne doivent jamais finir? Vous me faites bien repentir de ma franchise; il valoit mieux m'en tenir au commerce simple: pourquoi vous ai-je avoué mon amitié? C'étoit pour vous contenter, non pas pour augmenter vos ennuis. Des soupçons, des inquiétudes perpétuelles!—vraiment, si l'amitié a tous les ennuis de l'amour sans en avoir les plaisirs, je ne vois rien qui invite à en tâter. Au lieu de me la montrer sous sa meilleure face, vous me la présentez dans tout son ténébreux. Je renonce à l'amitié si elle n'enfante que de l'amertume.'—*Letters*, vol. i. p. 37.

These lines, as they have been permitted to see the light, are probably among the gentlest of his angry effusions. Of what description

scription the rest may have been, we are at liberty to conjecture, from the effects which they produced.

‘Votre plume est de fer trempé dans le fiel. Bon Dieu ! quelle lettre ! Jamais il n’y en eut de plus piquante, de plus sèche et de plus rude ; j’ai été bien payée de l’impatience que j’avois de la recevoir.’—*Letters*, vol. ii, p. 360.

To the ‘*Letters of the Marquise du Deffand and Mr. Horace Walpole*,’ are prefixed a preface, and a life of Madame du Deffand, by the editor. They are written in an excellent tone, and in a style temperate, chaste, and purely English. With much knowledge of the world, they evince a spirit of candour corrected by a strong judgment and sound principle ; and are evidently the productions of a mind, enlightened and vigorous, polished alike by extensive reading, and by intercourse with the best society. The most important parts of Madame du Deffand’s character are here accurately estimated, and placed in their just point of view. Her good qualities are not exaggerated ; nor is the depravity of her heart disguised by a misplaced delicacy.

On the whole, we have read these prefatory pieces with great satisfaction ; and in offering this testimony to the merits of an anonymous writer, we cannot avoid expressing a hope, that a second opportunity may be soon given us of performing so agreeable a duty.

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#### ERRATA.

p. 8, l. 13 from the bottom ; for *altogether* r. *all together*.

p. 10, l. 14 from the top ; for *descents* r. *descent*.

ibid. l. 7 from the bottom ; for *Judah* r. *Israel*.

p. 11, l. 19 from the bottom ; for *lives* r. *lines*.

p. 156, l. 13 from the bottom ; after ‘commander,’ insert ‘Lieutenant Colonel Innes.’

p. 169, l. 2 from the top ; for *but* r. *that*.

We should esteem it a favour if our anonymous correspondents would indicate a channel by which our observations might reach them.

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